THE ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT NEW YORK, MAY 8, 1849.

WITH

THE RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESSES.

NEW YORK:
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WILLIAM HARNED, OFFICE AGENT, NO. 61 JOHN STREET.
1849.

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THE SOCIETY'S DEPOSITORY.

The Office of the Society and its Depository are at 61 John street. A general assortment of Anti-Slavery Publications is here kept for sale, and upwards of one hundred newspapers (including all the Anti-Slavery newspapers in this and foreign countries) are on file for the gratuitous use of the friends of the cause, and the public generally.

WILLIAM HARNED, Office Agent.

FORM OF BEQUESTS.

I give, devise, and bequeath, to my Executors, the sum of dollars in trust, to pay over the same to Wm. E. Whiting, Treasurer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or to such other person as shall, at the time of my death, be the Treasurer of said Society, to be held and applied by him to the charitable uses of said Society.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth Annual Meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on Tuesday, May 8th, 1849, at 3 o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the chair was occupied by Rev. David Root, of Guilford, Connecticut.

Professor Whipple read the following selections from the Scriptures:

So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. —Eccl. 4: 1. Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity: wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? and makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things that have no ruler over them?—Hab. 1: 13, 14. Woe . . . to the oppressing city. Her princes within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves; they gnaw not the bones until the morrow. Her prophets are light and treacherous persons: her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law. The just Lord is in the midst thereof; he will do no iniquity: every morning doth he bring his judgment to light, he faileth not; but the unjust knoweth no shame.—Zeph. 3: 1–5. He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten; he hideth his face; he will never see it. Arise, O Lord; O God, lift up thine hand; forget not the humble.—Ps. 10: 12. The Lord heareth the poor, and despiseth not his prisoners.—Ps. 69: 33. The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed.—Ps. 103: 6. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor. He shall redeem their souls from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sight.—Ps. 72: 4, 14. Thus saith the Lord; ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine.—Jer. 34: 17. Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction.—Prov. 31: 8. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves

also in the body.—HEB. 13 : 3. Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise.—MICAH 7 : 8. For the needy shall not always be forgotten; the expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever.—Ps. 9 : 18.

Prayer was offered by Rev. SAMUEL R. WARD, of Cortlandt, New York.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read by the Corresponding Secretary. After which the Luca family, consisting of four colored lads, sang the "Car of Emancipation," in a spirited manner, which was received by the audience with lively marks of satisfaction.*

Mr. HENRY BIBB, the fugitive slave from Kentucky, was then introduced, and addressed the meeting in an impressive and sensible speech, in support of the following resolution:

Resolved, That believing the Bible is entirely opposed to Slavery, and that its Divine Author intended it for universal circulation and perusal, we recommend to all the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to aid the American Missionary Association in its successful efforts to distribute copies of the Holy Scriptures among the slave population of the slave States.

He said the resolution had his most cordial approbation. It was right that the Bible should be sent among the slaves. As the representative of the down-trodden slave in America, he was glad to hear of the proposal to send a copy of the Scriptures to every colored family. I may speak, said Mr. B., with some authority on the subject; I know by experience, the secrets of the prison-house. A slave till within a few years myself, I am entitled to an attentive hearing, not only from the courtesy of this audience, but from my identity with the slave. The Bible Society had said a great deal about circulating the holy volume, but after all the efforts that have been made to circulate the Scriptures among the American population; after the resolve of the American Bible Society to supply every family in the United States with a copy; after the declaration of a representative of the Society at Exeter Hall, that every

* The *True Sun*, a pro-slavery paper, remarks: "When the meeting was opened by prayer, and the Corresponding Secretary had read the abstract of the Annual Report, there were musical exercises by four members of the Luca family—colored boys—who exhibited much musical taste and noble voices. One of them (the youngest) played an accompaniment, while the other three sang a hymn to freedom, in first-rate style. The exercise gave such satisfaction, that a universal *encore* hailed them upon their retiring from the platform."

family had been supplied; let it not be forgotten—let it be borne on the winds of heaven—let it go through the length and breadth of this mighty continent, and through the Christian nations of the world, that there are three millions of the people of this country, who are shut out from the light of the gospel—three millions, equal to six hundred thousand families, who are not supplied with a copy of the Bible. These, said Mr. B., are my brethren, "bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." He himself had been a great sufferer by not having known the Scriptures, and the result of their being kept from the American slaves, is profanity, superstition and polygamy. No one who was acquainted with the condition of the slaves at the South could attempt to deny that. The Bible Society, in his opinion, had not done all that it might have done. In 1816, it was established, but still there were three millions of men who had not received the Bible, just as if they had not immortal souls to be saved or lost. The Society had given them the "go-by." Yes, the Bible had been sent to foreign lands, but three millions of their own countrymen, in their own land, had been neglected, and left to their fate. It had been his hard lot to be loaded down with chains, to be handcuffed, and to be banished from his native State—floated down the broad Mississippi to New Orleans, to be disposed of at the great flesh mart. (Here the meeting expressed strong marks of disapprobation.) If he had had the advantage of reading the Bible in early life, he would never have become the subject of such deep degradation. The Bible would achieve everything for them, so far as the emancipation of the slaves was concerned. (Hear, hear.) And it was his fixed and unalterable opinion, that no permanent liberty could exist unless it was based upon the word of eternal truth. (Loud cheers.) If, as he had already said, the Bible had been placed in the hands or within the reach of the poor, defenseless and unhappy slave, we need not be here on this occasion to advocate the rights and liberties of one-sixth of the people of this country. (Applause.) Mr. B. said he would not stop to prove the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, nor to discuss whether they were adequate to the abolition of Slavery. The Bible is generally received as the inspired word of God. For himself, he believed it was adequate to remove all sin—intemperance, slavery, and every other abomination, under which this or any other country groaned. He had often wished that all his Anti-Slavery friends had stuck to the Bible, that they had all pressed its commands and precepts upon slaveholders. Had they done so, he believed there would not have been

any occasion for our meeting to-day. Slaveholders use the Bible in defense of Slavery. Now, said Mr. B., I hold to fighting men with their own weapons, and with the Bible as an instrument, the overthrow of Slavery is certain. Mr. B. then drew a vivid picture of the wickedness of Slavery, and the sufferings of the slave—of the universal licentiousness that made the semblance of marriage a mockery—of the violent and cruel disruption of the dearest ties—and the degradation and misery of being sold in the market, like a beast of burden.

Here the speaker gave an amusing description of an interview he had with the Rev. Dr. BRIGHAM, Secretary of the American Bible Society, at the Bible House. He had called upon him to ascertain what steps had been taken, if any, to supply the slaves with Bibles, as he saw, from month to month in the *Record* published by the Society, acknowledgments of money "for the slaves." Dr. B. undertook to show him what was doing for the circulation of the Bible among the slaves. He turned to the Annual Reports, and showed him a list of the auxiliaries in the slave States. The parent Society, he said, left this work with the auxiliaries. He asked me, said Mr. B., what State I came from? I said Kentucky. Look here, said he, and see the auxiliaries we have in that State. He came to Bedford County, the county I came from. Who are the officers here? said I. "Mr. A." I know him well. He is a slaveholder. Who next? "Mr. E." Another slaveholder. Who next? "Mr. Gatewood." That is my old master. He an officer of your auxiliary! (Marks of astonishment.) Yes, William Gatewood was the man, who, in 1839, loaded me with chains—took me to the blacksmith's shop to have the chains riveted—had my feet tied under the horse—had me handcuffed—sold me to a company of gamblers on speculation, who took me to New Orleans, and sold me. He it was, who separated me from my wife and dear little child, whom I shall never see again, till I meet them at the judgment day. (Great sensation.) My wife was sold at a great price to a French profligate, for vile purposes. This Gatewood, said Mr. B., was a brother in the Methodist church. That is the man, who is the Secretary of one of the auxiliaries of the American Bible Society! What were the slaves to expect from such a man? As well might they expect the fox to guard the geese, or the wolf to protect the lamb, as to think that slaveholders would circulate the word of God among their slaves. The slaves had prayed for the Bible, but their prayers have been in vain. The liberty and spiritual salvation of millions depended upon the sacred volume. Where were

they to go, if not to the freemen of the North? Oh, Great Spirit! how long has crushed humanity to plead in vain? When wilt Thou break down the guilt of the nation? The apologists of Slavery said that the Bible was no use to the slaves, because they could not read it. The slaveholders themselves believed that, but it was a mistake; there was no plantation on which was a considerable number of slaves, where one or more could not be found who was able to read. Nay, more—there were many slaves at the South who could read the Bible if they had the chance. (Hear, hear.) Again:—it was said that in the slave States, there was a statute forbidding the introduction of the sacred Scriptures. That was not true. There were six States, where no such law existed; but, nevertheless, no effort had been made to supply the perishing bondman with the Word of Life. The slave had a right to have the Bible. If the heathen of foreign lands were furnished with it, why not furnish the heathen of our own land with it? If any slaveholders were present—and he supposed there were—he would say to them that they might cut, and scourge, and bruise their slaves; they might consign them to the dank and dismal dungeon; they might brand the initials of their names upon the quivering flesh; but the moment the Bible got among them, they (the slaves) could not be held in bondage any longer. (Cheers.) When he imbibed the knowledge contained in its sacred pages, his master could hold him no longer. He had vowed to be free, or to die in the attempt. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) After the expiration of six months, he returned to see if he could relieve his family; but he was betrayed, and that by a black man; which proved that a black man could be as mean as a white man when he wished. (Loud laughter.) He had been sold six times, four times to professors of religion. (Here the speaker gave a most affecting description of the manner in which the female slaves are treated.) The Bible was said to sustain slavery; very well, in that case the planters could not object to its introduction, as, according to their reasoning upon the subject, it would show the slaves that they were so by the will of God, and that therefore they ought to be resigned to his will.

Mr. Bibb concluded his really able and argumentative address with an earnest appeal to the audience, to take hold of the project in person, and not relax in their efforts till every slave in the United States was supplied with a copy of the Bible, and then, said he, Slavery would speedily come to an end.

A letter was read from JOHN DOWLING, D. D., in which he deeply regretted his unavoidable absence, and inability to speak at the Anniversary, agreeably to his engagement, in consequence of a severe attack of sore throat. It was also stated that Hon. WILLIAM JAY, and Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, who were to address the meeting, were necessarily absent on account of illness.

The following resolutions were then read by LEWIS TAPPAN:

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting is deeply and gratefully impressed with the goodness of God, in view of the progress which the Anti-Slavery cause has made during the past year, and especially that He has overruled the machinations of the slave power in the annexation of Texas, and the dismemberment of Mexico, in such a way as to open the eyes of so many of our fellow-citizens to the encroachments of Slavery, and inspire them with a determination to oppose its extension or existence in any territory of the United States.

2. *Resolved*, That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to JOHN P. HALE, JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, JOHN G. PALFREY, AMOS TUCK, HORACE MANN, and to other honorable and noble-minded members of Congress who, by their admirable management, baffled the designs of the administration and slave interest during the late session; and that we confidently trust they will in the next Congress, with an augmented number of kindred spirits, oppose the supporters and propagandists of Slavery, until they obtain a still more glorious triumph for freedom.

3. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the conductors of the press throughout the country, who have opened their columns to the discussion of Free Soil and abolition principles, and to those especially who have urged the duty and safety of emancipation, and that we earnestly hope that the friends of freedom will give to such papers their liberal support.

4. *Resolved*, That we rejoice in the increased attention given the Anti-Slavery cause, by a portion of the ministers of the gospel and churches of different denominations, and, that as the present is an auspicious time to present its claims in a moral and religious aspect throughout the country, all, who approve the principles and measures of this Society and wish for its enlarged usefulness, be invited to afford their aid in making it more effective for the overthrow of Slavery and the slave-trade, in this and foreign lands.

5. *Resolved*, That we have witnessed with high satisfaction the laudable efforts made by the people of color, to secure for themselves and their children the benefits of education and useful occupation, and their determination to discountenance all projects of expatriation; that we sympathize with them in the prevalence of the cruel and unjust principle of *caste* in the free States, which bears with peculiar

severity upon the intelligent and aspiring portion of the race, while it excites the taunts and derision of slaveholders towards the white inhabitants of the free States; and that we congratulate our colored fellow-citizens on the approach of the day when the oppressive laws and usages of the country, with respect to them, will be swept away as antagonistic to republican institutions and the Christian religion.

6. *Resolved*, That we are gratified that many missionaries of different denominations, in this and foreign lands, are inculcating the Anti-Slavery principles of the gospel; that we wish them great success in their benevolent and Christ-like labors, while we invite their correspondence and coöperation, in spreading the principles of holy freedom throughout the world.

7. *Resolved*, That we have undiminished confidence in the truth and importance of the great doctrine of Immediatism, in reference to the emancipation of our fellow-men, and trust that all the friends of the slave will make it their watchword, rejecting all schemes of gradual emancipation, especially such as are connected with colonization, and urging the justice and safety of universal and immediate emancipation on the soil.

8. *Resolved*, That in our efforts for the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade, we are not seeking the welfare of the slave alone, but of all classes of our fellow-citizens, both in the slave and free States, believing that the system is injurious to the whole nation in a moral, social, religious, literary, agricultural, mechanical and commercial view, and that the true glory, happiness and prosperity of the country cannot be secured without its utter extinction.

9. *Resolved*, That, being the steadfast friends of the Constitution of our country, and of the church of Christ, we are utterly opposed to all projects of disunion and disorganization, under the pretense of promoting the freedom of our colored brethren, while we seek to secure a more constitutional administration of government, and a more consistent exhibition of Christianity.

10. *Resolved*, That, although we rejoice in the prosperity of Bible, Tract, Sunday-School and Missionary Societies, and other national organizations for the defense or spread of Christian truth, and deem it our privilege to yield them support when we can consistently do it, yet we believe it to be the duty of every friend of the down-trodden and oppressed to oppose in such institutions all acts that obstruct the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country, or in any part of the world.

11. *Resolved*, That we deeply lament the prevalence and increase of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa and in the United States—a trade stigmatized as piracy between Africa and this nation, and allowed as lawful commerce between the different slave States of the Union—and that we believe it is not in the power of all the navies and armies in the world to put an end to the foreign traffic, until Slavery, which originated and sustains it, is utterly destroyed.

12. *Resolved*, That the assertion of the pro-slavery press, and of

slaveholders, that the workings of emancipation in the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden, are disastrous, is notoriously untrue, it being the united declaration of the authorities and people of the islands, lately cursed by Slavery, that the extinction of the system has proved to be an agricultural, political and social blessing, for which both the planters and the emancipated are thankful to their governments and to the great Ruler of nations.

13. *Resolved*, That believing Slavery to be a state of war, and escape from its battle-fields both justifiable and meritorious, and having satisfactory evidence of the general prosperity of the colored immigrants in Canada, as well as in different parts of the United States, who are industriously engaged in agriculture, in trades, or in schools, we will extend every needful aid to fugitives from oppression, until it shall be convenient and safe for them to return to their native States as *freemen*.

Rev. Joshua Leavitt was requested to sustain the resolutions, which he did in a short and forcible speech, that was received with applause. He said that he was called on at short notice, in the midst of the confusion, writing, copying, reporting, paste and scissors, with which an editor is conversant, to address the meeting. He was literally used up with over-work, and he could but wish that the audience had zeal enough to furnish a man from among themselves, instead of taxing the brain of an already jaded editor.

Mr. Leavitt proceeded to speak with great energy and effect on the accusations that have been brought in certain quarters, against the Church. I repudiate, said he, as much as any one—the cause of Anti-Slavery in this country repudiates—the inertness of the do-nothing school. The monster evil of Slavery is not to be eradicated by bread and milk poultices—and half-cold at that. The naked truth, glowing like red hot coals of fire, must be applied to the uncovered hearts of the people. But whatever apathy may have existed among the do-nothings, it is not true that the Church is behind the people in devotion to the cause. If we are to have two parties, let us have a fair count. Who is the Church? Who is to speak for it? If it is called into court, on whom is the order of notice to be served? I should like to see the man who will answer for the Church. The Church comprises, perhaps, one in ten of the adult population of this country, and the Non-Church the rest. Church and Non-Church are the parties. Has not one in ten speeches against Slavery been made by the Church? The religious newspapers are one in twenty. Measure the columns, and see if the religious press has not accomplished its full proportion. If the Church is to be condemned in comparison with the Non-

Church, we summon her accusers to come into court and show a fair account current.

But having driven this Non-Church with shame out of court, when we come to a different tribunal, and are judged by the law of the Lord—by that man who laid down his life for our redemption, and told us to be like him—we must blush and hide our faces in the dust.

Rev. SAMUEL R. WARD was also requested to address the meeting, which he did in an impromptu speech that elicited much applause. Mr. WARD apologized for his entire want of preparation, having been called on but a few minutes previous. An abolitionist however, he said, should always feel himself ready to advocate the cause of the oppressed, even if he had to speak as he now did, on the spur of the occasion; especially ought a colored man to be ready, at all times, to lift up his voice in behalf of three millions of his brethren in bonds. Eloquent addresses, rounding periods, with all the grace and flourish of attractive rhetoric, when something was to be said about nothing, might do, but in grappling with the horrors, and wickedness, and disastrous consequences of Slavery, they wanted no set speeches; the set speeches had better be reserved for hallelujah times. (Applause and laughter.) At present, there are more slaves owned in this city, than in the city of Charleston. He spoke of the cruelties inflicted on the slave, and the almost equally cruel inflictions upon the free people of color. He thanked the Committee for the resolution expressing sympathy toward himself and his people, and the proffer of encouragement held out to them. They duly appreciated such expressions of kindness, and yet, said he, it is but awarding us a modicum of justice. We have been greatly wronged by the people of this country, both at the South and North, and it is our due that sympathy should be expressed, and relief and aid afforded. Still we are thankful. But we cannot be thankful to those friends who voted for men who have proved themselves the enemies of the black man. Nor can we be thankful to those who desire to deport us from these shores. Here we are, three millions of men, women and children; born here, though partially of African descent, and we are told that this country is not our home; that we must quit, and seek a home on another continent. Who brought us here? Who have ground us to the dust here? We are here, and here we mean to stay. (Cheers and hisses.) Hiss away, said Mr. WARD, you have been trying to hiss us down for ages, but we have stood it all,

and we can stand it yet. We will not be hissed out of our principles or our country, *brother* Henry Clay notwithstanding. Mr. WARD spoke with severity of the effects of caste. At a medical institution in this State, a colored young man was told, that he could attend the lectures and receive a diploma on one condition, viz: that he would agree not to practice medicine in the village where the institution is located. He indignantly left the place. Another colored youth was admitted into a college, after great urgency on the part of one of the professors, and much coaxing of the white students. But on commencement day, when he should have received his degree, if not had a part awarded him, it was contrived that he should not be present. One of the officers of the college offered him his horse to ride on that day; an offer that was declined. He said, in regard to the efforts made for self-elevation, the only elevation worth a straw was self-elevation. If the colored people do not elevate themselves, none else will do it for them. And he had found that if a black man has a mind to be a gentleman, white men could not help it. (Cheers and laughter.) He spoke with much feeling of the cruel treatment the people of color often received, and of the injurious effects it sometimes has upon them. A colored man of superior abilities—a member of a Church in this city—was once forbidden to partake of the Lord's Supper, until all the white members had partaken. He left the Church in disgust, omitted attending the sanctuary, went down—down to infidelity. A lady, in the course of her tract distribution, kindly offered a tract to a young colored woman. An older colored woman, standing by, told her not to receive it, for if she should go to the church where the lady attended, they would thrust her into a negro pew. Before the lady came around again the young woman inquired who she was, and found that she was a good woman, one that treated colored people consistently. She took the tract, and received instruction that by the blessing of God resulted in her conversion. Such is the influence the right conduct of professing Christians has upon our people, said Mr. WARD. He mentioned this case more particularly, he said, because this young woman became his wife. In conclusion, Mr. WARD said he hoped that the slaveholders might be converted, and brought to see the injustice of their course. The character of America could never spread out in all its glory, her institutions could not be deemed perfect; her flag would not float gracefully or triumphantly in the breeze of heaven, until the slave—the image of the living God—was allowed to stand upon the earth, free and unfettered. (Loud

cheers, in the midst of which the reverend gentleman took his seat.) The resolutions were then put, and carried with acclamation.*

At the conclusion of Mr. WARD's speech, another liberty song was sung by the volunteer choir that had previously entertained the meeting.

On motion of L. P. Noble :

Resolved, That the Report, of which an abstract has just been read, be accepted and printed under the direction of the Executive Committee.

BUSINESS MEETING.

A meeting of the Society was held May 9th, 1849, at No. 360 Broadway, at 8 o'clock A. M., agreeably to adjournment. J. WARNER, of Williamsburg, N. Y., in the Chair, and JOHN E. BENTON, Secretary. Prayer was offered by Rev. DAVID ROOT.

A discussion took place with regard to the aspects and prospects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the position of this Society, in which the following persons took part, viz : S. S. Jocelyn, D. Root, C. B. Ray, L. Tappan, A. Buffum, and Mr. Tillinghast.

On motion, the following persons were appointed a Committee to collect, assort and count votes, for officers for the ensuing year : Henry Belden, S. S. Jocelyn, and David Root. The Committee subsequently reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year. [For their names, see page 3.]

Attest, JOHN E. BENTON, *Secretary.*

* The *Tribune* in noticing the speech of Mr. WARD, said :

Mr. LEAVITT was succeeded by Rev. Mr. WARD, the colored gentleman who officiated as chaplain, with a complexion considerably darker than that of Othello, in the Düsseldorf Gallery. His speech was a succession of brilliant coruscations, which could no more be put on paper, than the flashes of lightning, diversified with explosions of oratory, that rolled and broke on the astonished auditory, like an impending thunder cloud. His sallies of wit were genuine, and no mistake; and with his gift of humor and sarcasm, we should rather listen to his oratory, than be the subjects of it.

The audience in attendance was large, though not so densely crowded as in the morning, and the meeting broke up at a reasonable hour, apparently highly gratified with the performance.

We may add to the remarks of the *Tribune*, that the audience in the morning was composed in part of considerable numbers of the members of this Society, but in the afternoon, both Societies held meetings in different places at the same hour.

ANNUAL REPORT.

THE noble band of English abolitionists, headed by Sharp, Macaulay, Clarkson and Wilberforce, after successfully striving for the extinction of the slave-trade by the British legislature, confidently anticipated that the example would be followed by the other European powers, and that the abolition of Slavery would be the natural consequence. But they found themselves mistaken. They had merely lopped off a branch, while the root of the Upas tree remained. Attention was then given to *gradual* abolition in the hope that the slaves, after being prepared for freedom, would eventually receive the desired boon. The Anti-Slavery body, throughout Christendom, became aroused from this stupor by the powerful pamphlet of ELIZABETH HEYRICK, entitled "Immediate, not Gradual Abolition,"* which carried conviction to the minds of the unbiased and intelligent. They saw, as the simple truth glanced into their minds, how consonant it was with reason and Christian philosophy; and thenceforth *Immediatism* became the watchword of real abolitionists throughout the world.

Before the lapse of many years kindred minds on this side of the Atlantic, believing that American Slavery was equal in atrocity to that of any other country; that, considering the high professions made by the founders of our republic, which have been annually reiterated ever since by their descendants, it was more disgraceful, and sympathizing with the new spirit enkindled in England, associated themselves together to put an end to the iniquitous system. Eschewing from principle all resort to physical force by themselves, or the victims of oppression, they placed their reliance, under God, upon the potency of truth, and moral suasion. Like Melancthon, at the commencement of the reformation in Germany, they fondly trusted that the truth so obvious to their minds would be equally so to the minds of their countrymen, and that in a short time the folly, impolicy, inconsistency and wickedness of holding a sixth part of the American people in chains would be so apparent, that

* Published in London in 1824, and republished in New York, in 1825.

the moral sentiment created would induce slaveholders to relax their grasp, while liberty should soon be proclaimed by common consent throughout the land to *all* the inhabitants thereof. But the advocates of immediate emancipation, like the associate of the great German reformer, had the same experience of the strength of the principle of evil in the hearts of men, and were forced to confess to one another as he did to Luther, that the devil was too strong for them. Happy will it be for the cause of truth and freedom, if this conviction is so strongly fixed in the minds of the friends of the slave, that they will rely more on the God of the oppressed, on his promises, on prayer, on the efficacy of truth promulgated in his name in the spirit of the gospel, while they do not relax in their courageous opposition to error, crime, and wickedness, and in their solemn purpose of contending for the emancipation of the enslaved until their brethren in bonds shall be free, and their country delivered from its reproach and infamy.

Among the deaths that have occurred the past year, in the abolition ranks, no one has fallen whose demise has occasioned more sincere or wide-spread regret than that of ALVAN STEWART. His able services in the Anti-Slavery cause, early commenced and long continued, won for him the confidence of his associates, and the grateful esteem and reverence of the people of color. In his decease, a most devoted Anti-Slavery advocate has been removed from us, one whose name and services will long be sacred in the remembrance of all who have been charmed by his eloquence, or instructed by his wisdom.

The past year has been distinguished for the increasing prevalence of Anti-Slavery sentiments, and especially for attention to the political aspects of the cause. Venal politicians have been rebuked, arrested in their career of iniquity, and taught a lesson that will never, it is believed, be forgotten. The people have been aroused, and have evinced a determination if not to put an end to Slavery, to prevent its extension on this continent. At the same time, the moral and religious aspects of the cause have not been overlooked. Many friends of the Redeemer, heretofore repelled by the erroneous doctrines of persons advocating the Anti-Slavery cause, have been led to see that it is the cause of God and humanity, and that all who profess to be the friends of the slave are not disunionists, and do not speak the truth in unrighteousness.

It is now acknowledged, even by the opponents of abolitionists, that the abolition of American Slavery is the great question of the age; and men who have hitherto remained passive

upon the subject now feel that the encroachments of the slavocracy are becoming intolerable; that the point where inactive forbearance ceases to be a virtue is at hand; that the grasping spirit of Slavery must be arrested, and the foul system overthrown and swept away for ever. The Supreme Being has, it should be gratefully remembered, overruled the labors of both the friends and enemies of freedom in the discussion of this question for the furtherance of the cause of *liberty* and the firm establishment of principles that will, by his blessing, bring about, at no distant day, the liberation and enfranchisement of those so long held captive in the prison-house of tyranny—who have been wantonly and cruelly despoiled of the inalienable rights of *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*, bestowed upon them in common with their oppressors. To God be all the praise!

The part taken by the Executive Committee of this Society the past year has been cautious, watchful, and prudent. With limited means, in the midst of political excitement, aware of the imprudence of those who call themselves, par excellence, the friends of the slave, they have not been eager to startle the community by new projects, or arouse them by spasmodic efforts; they have contented themselves by using the resources committed to them with economy, in diffusing truth with firmness and perseverance, and in aggressive movements both in the free and slave States, as opportunities and openings occurred. "Make haste slowly" has been their maxim, in the peculiar condition of the country and of the Anti-Slavery cause, in convincing of error and sin—in effecting reformation—leaving to others the odious task of vituperation, projects of disunion, efforts to rend the churches, destroy the constitution, and break down the government of their country. The Committee have been desirous of pursuing a course that would commend the cause to the approbation, and enlist the coöperation, of good men of all religious denominations and political parties. To accomplish this great object they have not deemed it necessary or wise to adulterate truth, to possess or exhibit a compromising spirit. Associates thus gained are not worth the pains taken to obtain their adhesion. The course pursued the past year will be continued, but the Committee hope with more abundant means at command, with more ability in their use, and with greater accessions to their numbers.

Some progress has been made in the plan announced in the last Annual Report, of publishing the slave-laws of the several States and Territories. The laws of the District of Columbia

relating to slaves and free people of color, under the title of the BLACK CODE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, have been published, prepared by William G. Snethen, Esq., counselor at law, Washington City, who has also in readiness for publication laws of similar character of the State of Maryland, to be followed by the slave-laws of other States, and published whenever sufficient funds shall have been contributed for the object. A copy of the BLACK CODE was sent to each member of Congress, and to each of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Aid has been furnished Rev. John G. Fee, of Kentucky, in the publication of his work entitled "An Anti-Slavery Manual," and in giving it an extensive circulation in that State and elsewhere.

Previous to the late Presidential election, the Executive Committee deemed it their duty to publish and circulate extensively an "Address to the Friends of Liberty," conjuring them not to forego the great object of their association, viz., the abolition of American Slavery, nor sacrifice any of the lofty principles heretofore avowed and maintained, for the sake of expediency, or to meet the views of fellow-citizens who had recently adopted the principle of non-extension; although they might with great propriety rejoice in the fact that so many had left and were leaving the parties to which they had previously belonged, and were contending earnestly for the limitation of Slavery to the slave States of the Union. The friends of liberty were entreated to refrain from all coalitions with non-extensionists, unless they would "adopt the distinguishing principles of the Liberty party." The conclusion of the Address was as follows:

"Friends of the Slave!—The eyes of Europe are upon us. They call our country the Model Republic. We are so, with one great exception. Let that stain be wiped from our national escutcheon. It was said by the departed statesman, John Quincy Adams, 'The preservation, propagation and perpetuation of Slavery has been the vital and animating spirit of the national government.' It might be so still, even if the Wilmot Proviso is adopted, and Oregon and the vast Mexican territories continue free from Slavery. Let us aim

* As specimens of the Black Code of the United States, we subjoin two facts of recent occurrence.

At Hagerstown, Maryland, a negro man, about 50 years of age, was sold, by order of the Orphan's Court, for refusing to pay a fine imposed for coming into the State. At St. Louis, Missouri, a free negro was whipped, by order of the County Court, and directed to leave the State in three days, but neglecting to do so, he again had to submit his back to the lash.

higher, and while we oppose the spread of the leprosy, effect a cure of this most revolting and consuming disease upon the body politic. 'Let us not suffer a knot of slaveholders for ever to give law and prescribe the policy of the country.'* Rather 'let virtuous men unite on the ground of *universal moral principle*, and the tyranny of party will be crushed.'† To this end be firm, united, progressive, unflinching, and persevere in the course marked out, 'unangered and unawed.' Continue to use moral suasion; cover the land, as with autumnal leaves, with Anti-Slavery publications, and with the speeches of the champions of freedom in Congress; 'preach, print, and pray;' organize in school districts, in towns and villages; hold frequent meetings; go to other political meetings to proselyte and not to be proselyted; abandon not an inch of ground already acquired, but make aggressive movements. Invoke the aid of the pulpit, the press, the lyceum; above all, invoke the God of the oppressed—the God of our fathers—that he will indeed make this a Model Republic, where all men may rejoice in equal rights. Let your acts infuse new enthusiasm into liberty-loving men across the Atlantic, until Europe, regenerated and disenthralled, shall echo the sublime language of our revolutionary patriots: 'All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"In conclusion, brethren and friends, let it be your solemn and unalterable determination, that while you oppose no man who is in any way friendly to the Anti-Slavery cause, you will not be instrumental in his election to office, unless he adopts the distinguishing principles of the Liberty party; and, especially, that you will not go backward in the great Anti-Slavery reform, but, according to the ability given you, do all in your power to uphold the doctrines and measures, to the maintenance and diffusion of which you have pledged yourselves before God and man."

The Committee have satisfactory assurance that this Address was timely and influential, and it has been admitted that it did good, and that the principles contained in the "Buffalo Platform" were of a higher character, in consequence of it, than they would otherwise have been. After all, they were not so high as to enlist the confidence or support of all the members of this Society, though a large majority were satisfied that it was their duty to unite with the Free Soil party in a grand coalition to oppose the extension of Slavery.

The Committee published the past year, as usual, a large edition of the *Liberty Almanac*. In it they gave a succinct history of the formation of this Society, vindicated its founders in reference to the aspersions frequently heaped upon them by disappointed and selfish individuals and cabals from

* John Quincy Adams. † President Wayland.

whom they had felt compelled to separate, and proved that the original object of the Society—the entire extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade, and the equal security, protection and improvement of the people of color—had been pursued to the extent of the means furnished. This publication contained also valuable reminiscences respecting the restriction of Slavery; discussions on the Wilmot Proviso and the Oregon Bill; the compromises of the Constitution; the Liberty party; facts in relation to emancipation in the French colonies—to the slave-trade—in proof that the extension of slave-territory was the object of the war upon Mexico; a statement of the criminal subserviency of the managers of the *American Sunday-School Union*, in justifying their suppression of one of their standard publications, in compliance with the dictates of the slave-power, because it contained a short passage alluding to the cruelties connected with slaveholding; mention of the Free Produce Association and Vigilance Committee—the slave-power politically and morally considered—together with a mass of intelligence, Anti-Slavery and miscellaneous. No better way can be devised, it is thought, for the dissemination of valuable matter relating to the great object of our association, than by the cheap and popular method referred to.*

A new and large edition of the Society's "*Address to Non-Slaveholders of the United States*" has been published, and a portion of it, with considerable additions, is in the press for distribution in New Mexico and California. Applications have been received and responded to, from different slave States, for books and pamphlets of an Anti-Slavery character; and the Committee are advised that native citizens of such States are circulating essays showing the safety and advantages of emancipation, with much effect; and they know of no way in which the friends of the cause can better aid the progress of Anti-Slavery principles, than by liberal appropriations for such objects.

Assistance has been given to the circulation of a *Review of the Mexican War*, by William Jay—a work just issued, and which is adapted to do good as a peace essay, and as a faithful and uncompromising exposition of the villanies of the slave-power. To this essay we have good reason to believe would have been awarded the prize of $500 offered by the American Peace Society, had its tone been more moderate

* It is intended to continue the publication, annually, of this Almanac. Orders can be sent to William Harned, No. 61 John street, New York.

with regard to the abominable ethics of certain leading politicians of New England and elsewhere, who, while condemning the late war as unnecessary, unjust, and wicked, voted supplies to carry it on, under the pretense that thus they were "conquering peace," and reflecting glory upon American arms. It is hoped that the abolitionists of this country will aid in the wide circulation of this work, so congenial with the principles of the friends of peace and emancipation.

The Committee have aided the circulation of the pamphlet edition of the "Address of the Free Soil Association of the District of Columbia to the People of the United States." The Association assert the deleterious influence of Slavery upon the prosperity of the District; and seeing that Congress, while it holds the destiny of the people of the District in its hands, fails to perform its duty with reference to the suppression of the slave-trade—so odious and disgraceful, particularly at the capital of the nation, in view of the national legislature, of the representatives of foreign powers, and of strangers who visit the city of Washington from all parts of the world—it urges the people of the Union, the primary source of power, "to exact the legislation proper to promote the prosperity of the people at the seat of the national government." With the address is republished the celebrated "Memorial of the Inhabitants of the District of Columbia," of 1828, praying for the gradual abolition of Slavery in the District, and the names at length of the 1060 inhabitants originally attached to the same.

Applications have been received from several individuals for aid in sustaining newspapers in slave States and Territories that will advocate, though not exclusively, the emancipation of slaves, or the prohibition of Slavery; and the Committee are in possession of facts with regard to the prevalence of Anti-Slavery feeling and action in slave States, produced by northern agitation, that are highly encouraging.

Under the advice of the Committee, and with funds furnished by its members and others, suits or other legal processes have been commenced for the liberation of persons claiming their liberty under the laws of the States in which they have been held in bondage. In one of these cases, where slaves, emancipated by the will of a slaveholder in Maryland, were kept in slavery nearly fourteen years by the unprincipled executor, a decree has been obtained, after an expensive and protracted litigation in the various courts, restoring fifteen persons to liberty. This result was achieved by the joint coöperation

and at the mutual expense of members of this Committee and friends of justice in Maryland.

The Committee have the satisfaction of stating, that the expenses incurred by them in the establishment and support of the *National Era* until the transfer of the paper to its talented editor, Dr. Bailey, have been refunded by him, with interest; and that the cost of the type, press, and engine, is in process of reimbursement, by instalments, on the part of the printers. This honorable fulfilment of a promise contingent upon the success of the paper will enable the Committee, with the balance of the "General Fund" still due, to prosecute the other objects contemplated when the subscriptions were made, and to issue publications and employ agencies, to the extent of the means furnished. Among these objects are the establishment of other Anti-Slavery papers in slave States. The Committee trust that the arduous labors of the editor and proprietor of the *National Era*, and the enterprise announced of starting a daily Anti-Slavery paper at Washington, are duly appreciated, and will be liberally supported by the friends of the cause throughout the country. It is understood that more attention will hereafter be devoted to the moral and religious aspects of the cause, and that the paper will be every way worthy of the support of all true-hearted abolitionists.

Correspondence has been maintained with other societies, and with individual friends of emancipation in this and other countries, and intelligence has been reciprocated. Publications have been received from various quarters: among them copies of those issued by the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society of Scotland. Some of them bear the following titles: "Slavery forbidden by the Word of God"—"The Pro-Slavery Character of the American Churches, and the Sin of holding Christian Communion with them"—"The Sinfulness of maintaining Christian Fellowship with Slaveholders;" beside pamphlets and bound volumes on various subjects received from friends of the cause in England.

The Committee have received copies of a splendid octavo volume of 564 pages, recently published, entitled "A Tribute for the Negro," being a vindication of the moral, intellectual and religious capabilities of the colored portion of mankind, with particular reference to the African race, illustrated by numerous biographical sketches, facts, anecdotes, &c., and many portraits and engravings, by *Wilson Armistead*—a work which

reflects honor upon the compiler, and is received with satisfaction by the people of color and their friends.*

Letters were recently addressed by the Corresponding Secretary to a considerable number of influential and intelligent abolitionists in different States, asking their opinion and advice with reference to the best course to be taken by the Society in the present position of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country. Great unanimity on the following sentiments was expressed in the replies: that the present is a favorable time to awaken the public conscience with regard to the moral and religious aspects of the cause; that an organization, based upon an earnest abhorrence of the sinfulness of Slavery, and bringing its influence to bear upon the social, civil and ecclesiastical defenses of the system, is greatly needed; a hope that judicious, prayerful and persevering action may soon bring about an application of Anti-Slavery principles to Bible, Tract, Missionary, and Sunday-School operations, and induce all the organizations in these departments of benevolence to give the slave population an importance proportioned to their hard and bitter necessities; and that the Anti-Slavery men of the country would sustain the Committee, with a Secretary, who, like the lamented Phelps, could devote his whole time to the prosecution of the important work.

In taking a brief survey of the history of the Anti-Slavery cause the past year, and in defining its present position, reference will be had in the first place to this country. A great impetus has undoubtedly been given to the cause since our last anniversary, and politicians, theologians, editors, preachers, essayists, ecclesiastical and legislative bodies, and poets, have more numerously than ever before uttered condemnations of Slavery, both in the abstract and concrete, with unwonted freedom and boldness. It is true that public attention has been chiefly engrossed with the non-extension aspect of the question; but politicians, in church and state, have used a two-edged sword, and turned an edge against Slavery, as well as an edge against the extension of the system in new Territory. It has, indeed, been both amusing and cheering to notice how intimately acquainted certain popular orators have shown themselves to be with Anti-Slavery literature the moment they "took the stump" in favor of Free Soil; and how ably the true character of the "institution" has been portrayed, its villanies denounced, its pernicious social, political and reli-

* The work is sold by William Harned, No. 61 John street.

gious effects stated by private and public opponents the instant their tongues were loosed. Evidence has thus been given that the Anti-Slavery press and the Anti-Slavery lecturers for the last fifteen years have not labored in vain. The seed sown, often in assemblies of frenzied assailants and amid storms of abuse, or the presence of those who scornfully turned away from the care-worn but persevering sowers, has taken root, sprung up, and is bearing fruit, some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold. The encroachments of the oligarchy that has ruled this country, politically and ecclesiastically, for half a century, have aroused the freemen of the free States and incited sympathizing friends in the slave States to thought and action. Prejudice against abolitionists, their doctrines, and measures, has been overborne; good and patriotic men have been led to see that amidst the occasional imprudence, folly or wickedness, seen in the abolition ranks, the majority hold sound principles and are actuated by philanthropic and Christian zeal.

Various ecclesiastical bodies have taken action upon the subject of Slavery the past year, in a more decided tone than heretofore. A few instances will be mentioned. The Presbytery of Monroe, Mich., say: "We are deeply impressed with the idea, that we have reached a point in the history of the world, in which the subject of human rights is to be freely and thoroughly discussed." Of Slavery they say:

"A system in itself so unnatural; so palpably at war with every generous impulse of humanity; so clearly forbidden by every principle of the gospel; so blighting to all the tender, and amiable, and generous sensibilities of those who exercise its prerogatives; so fraught with degradation and wo to its unfortunate victims; so destructive of conjugal fidelity and connubial bliss; so politically ruinous to the commonwealth; and so obstructive of individual and popular Christianity—in short, a system so void of good, so wholly evil, so preëminently *accursed*, can never, for a single day, survive a correct popular sentiment.

"We are called upon by the imperious voice of the Most High, by everything generous and noble in humanity, and by the sublime moral and philanthropic movements of the age in which we live, to lend our influence, as an ecclesiastical judicatory, great or small however that influence may be, to set aright the convictions of our own country and the world upon the subject of human oppression. The heart of the slave-master will not relent; the statutes of the slave-code will not grow dim—* * * unless the church withdraw from the institution her sanction and support—yea, till she withhold from it her entire sympathy, and place upon it the broad seal of her strong and universal REPROBATION."

The following resolutions were adopted:

"1. *Resolved*, That all *voluntary* and *determined* slaveholding, except where persons are held in servitude as a penalty of crime, is, in the opinion of this body, a sin against God.

"2. *Resolved*, That we believe it the duty of all philanthropists, and of all Christians especially, to avow their decided disapprobation of the system of Slavery, as it exists in these United States, and to withhold their entire countenance from all who are *in any way* engaged in promoting it.

"3. *Resolved*, That the voluntary arrest and re-delivery of escaped slaves into bondage is inhuman, forbidden by the Word of God, and ought to subject those engaged in it to disgrace and infamy, and, if nominal Christians, to the discipline of the church.

"4. *Resolved*, That we sincerely deprecate the extension of Slavery into the free territories of this civilized and Christian nation, and will use all our religious and political influence, and make our fervent appeal to Almighty God, the Sovereign of all national destiny, to prevent it.

"5. *Resolved*, That we greatly rejoice in the examples set before us by all civilized nations, in their efforts to abolish Slavery, and to extend the cause of Freedom throughout the world."

The Synod of Cincinnati, Ohio, (connected with the Triennial or New School Assembly) adopted a memorial on Slavery by a unanimous vote, from which the following extracts are made:

"Natural and inalienable rights are derived from God, and are defined and protected by his authority; and no human authority, individual or national, is at liberty to abrogate or abridge them; or to extenuate or justify their violation; and to attempt to do so is rebellion against the Divine government."

The memorial proceeds to give a description of Slavery, and then adds:

"The system of servitude upheld and perpetuated by these laws, is, both in its principles and practice, essentially different from that recognized and sanctioned in the Old and New Testaments; the Old Testament securing certain personal, political and religious rights, which the American system totally denies; and the New Testament requiring masters to 'forbear threatening,' and to give their servants as the creatures of God and not of law or corrupt custom, 'what is just and equal;'—a requisition which if followed would at once annihilate the assumed right of property in man, and elevate the slave to the dignity and rights of men.

"In view of the whole subject, therefore,—

"*Resolved*, That this paper be forwarded, as an expression of the

views of the Synod, to the General Assembly, at its meeting in May next (1849); and that we memorialize that body, in behalf of our whole church, to bear its solemn and decided testimony against these practices, as inconsistent with a Christian profession and requiring the exercise of church discipline, and against the countenance, encouragement, or defense of the system by which they are produced and upheld."

It remains to be seen whether the Assembly, composed of ministers and elders, North and South, will bear its "solemn and decided testimony" against American Slavery, or whether, like the Whigs and Democrats in Congress, they will compromise, lest they *split their party.*

THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS, which embraces the Orthodox and Unitarian ministers of that State, adopted the following minute, the subject of which is to be discussed at the meeting, May, 1849:

"Whereas this Convention is deeply impressed with the sinfulness and injustice of holding a fellow-being in Slavery, and is convinced by all experience that the relation of master and slave is as destructive of the moral nature of the one, as it is of the *human* nature of the other; and whereas recent events have demonstrated, that non-slaveholding States are inextricably involved in some of the great public and private wrongs inherent to the system; and whereas, while it is at all times incumbent on us, as men, to be faithful to the duties of a common humanity, as ministers of Him who came to unloose the heavy burthens, and bind up the broken in heart, it is especially our duty to 'remember those who are in bonds as bound with them;' therefore Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to prepare a report, to be presented at the next annual meeting of this Convention, containing a brief history of the rise and progress of Slavery in our country, a view of the responsibilities of the free States in regard to it, and a calm and temperate, but solemn and earnest, appeal to the community on this momentous subject."

THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, formed in Ohio by Christians who have seceded from the General Assembly (N. S.), find that the demand for ministerial labor, within its bounds, far exceeds the supply. One of the ministers of this new Presbyterian Church or Assembly writes as follows:

"We have pressing calls to organize churches, but from our present paucity of preachers we must turn a deaf ear to them. You have probably seen, from the letters we have received from Scotland, England and Ireland, that our course in withdrawing from the slaveholding church is justified. I would that these letters could be brought before the people of the Presbyterian Church. They would

undeceive them in regard to the position we occupy, and in regard to the estimation in which a slaveholding religion is held by English, Scotch and Irish Christians. But this wish is vain, for the "religious papers" generally pursue the policy of concealing from their readers the fact of the existence of a Presbyterian Church free from the curse of slavery. However, we did not set out as a proselyting sect. Our only object was to save our consciences and the truth. If other Anti-Slavery Christians are content to be in connection with churches ruled and ridden down by the slave-power, we have in the present condition of our churches in this region, pleasing evidence that the Lord approves of the course we have taken. This is enough for us."

THE FRANKLIN CONFERENCE, Maine (Methodists), at its last annual meeting passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That as a Conference we feel constrained by our regard for the word of God, and for the honor of his name, and the interest of his kingdom—by our promise to live soberly, righteously and godly in the world, and to promote the purity, peace and edification of Christ's church—to withhold from all professing Christians, who hold slaves, or openly justify or defend the practice of slaveholding, all those forms or expressions of fellowship which imply that we regard them as *worthy* members of Christ's visible body."

THE FREE-WILL BAPTISTS have, as usual, borne their unequivocal testimony against Slavery. At their Union Yearly Meeting, convened at Columbus, N. Y., they resolved that they were more than ever convinced of the political and moral wrongs of Slavery; and of the necessity of philanthropists and Christians using all consistent means for its overthrow.

The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, in October last, resolved they would firmly array themselves on the side of God and humanity, and against the system of Slavery and Slavery-extension.

The Ashtabula Quarterly Meeting resolved, in the fear of God, to remember the slave until all take high and holy ground on the subject of Slavery; that they would not fear to separate themselves from any party or association that in any way sustains the inhuman system; and that they would continue to carry an influence at the polls that shall tend to strike every bond from the limbs of the slave, and set him on equal privileges with other American citizens.

A YOUTH'S MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION has been formed in the Free Congregational Church in Sullivan street, New York, which employs a colporteur in Kentucky, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, to distribute Bibles to all, without distinction of color, who are destitute of copies, and

especially to the slaves. He reports that he has access, so far, to every family, that he urges upon the receiver the duty of immediate and entire submission to God, that all are willing to talk and read on the duty of emancipation, and that the proposition to leave a Bible in every slave family is generally approved.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION takes Anti-Slavery ground in its efforts for the evangelization of the world. Its missionaries are located in Kaw-Mendi, Africa; in Jamaica; in the Sandwich Islands; in Siam; in Minesota, U. S. A.; in Canada; in the western and south-western States; the whole number being forty-five. Its funds are multiplying and its friends are increased in number. The following are extracts from its last annual Report.

"The admission of caste, slaveholding, polygamy, and such like sins into churches gathered in Christian or heathen lands, as it is a violation of the rules of God's house, has been as might have been expected, productive only of evil.

"The truth of this assertion is coming to be generally acknowledged. The hope of overcoming sin allowed a place at the altar and in the sanctuary, by preaching the gospel so as to avoid a direct assault of it, is seen to be futile. The gospel thus preached loses its power, sin becomes bold in its bearing, and exacting in its demands to be left unmeddled with, if not openly sustained, and in the end, obtains so strong a hold as only to be cast out by a violent disruption of cherished ties, and the excommunication of the wrong doer.

"Some of the mission churches of India, after having long endeavored to eradicate the spirit of caste, while permitting its practice, have at length become convinced of the necessity of more consistent and direct efforts. As might have been expected, divisions have followed, resistance has been made and the first result has been the necessity of cutting off from the churches more than seventy of their members, thirty-eight of whom had been thought worthy to give instruction in the truths of the gospel. The effect upon the schools has been even more marked in the numbers that have at once separated themselves from the instructions of the missionaries. The work of purification is however commenced, and will, we hope, be carried forward.

"What is true in relation to the admission of caste, is also true of slaveholding. The admission of slaveholders into mission churches has greatly disturbed the harmony of missionary organizations, and we fear that a return to correct action in these missions, if it ever comes, will be at the expense of as much division as has followed the casting out of the sin of caste.

"The Committee would congratulate the Society that the Secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M. are now beginning to advise their missionaries that slaveholding should be considered *prima facie* evidence of sin,—of unfitness for church privileges—and although the Board as yet

decline endorsing this instruction by direct vote, there is some prospect that that body will before long relieve itself from the responsibility of building slaveholding churches by preaching a gospel sanctioning Slavery, and that their Secretaries may yet be led to act on the assumption that slaveholding in practice, or sustaining it by admission to the church is at last as grievous a heresy as the believing and teaching that the humble Christian who earnestly desires to do his Savior's will may confidently look to him for all needed aid to sustain the burdens which He Himself has laid upon him.

"The experience of our own missions has demonstrated the fact that the missionary of the cross, relying solely on the protection of God, may faithfully bear testimony against the most popular sins, even when this course may run most directly across the passions and prejudices of men."

The friends of impartial, universal education have been addressed by a highly respectable body of men in the State of New York, in favor of the establishment of a FREE CENTRAL COLLEGE, at McGrawville, under the supervision of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and providing that "the institution be adapted to the education of persons of both sexes and of all classes. . . ." In the management of the college the trustees will "rebuke the withering spirit of *caste;* and make all forms of useful industry and labor respectable."*

The religious newspapers of the country take higher ground on the subject of Slavery than heretofore, and several of them discuss the question with great fidelity, although it must be acknowledged that they do not generally exert so much influence on society as the political press. The reason is they do not lead in the great moral reforms of the age. An influential paper called the *Independent*, published in the city of New York, recently commenced and ably edited, speaks frequently and with decision on the all-engrossing subject of Slavery. The following remark in this journal may be misunderstood: "The workings of God's providence for the extinction of Slavery will be found to be in the end a thousand times more efficient than all the efforts of philanthropists and statesmen." The sentiment is true, and yet it should be considered that as God does not ordinarily, if at all, accomplish great moral reformations except by the instrumentality or agency of man, it behooves us, while we adore the wonder-working plan of the Supreme Being in restoring to the oppressed their rights, to "come up to the help of the Lord." The *New York Evangelist*, early distinguished

* Donations are solicited. Israel Palmer is Treasurer and O. H. Salisbury, Cor. Sec. The address of both is McGrawville, Cortland county, N. Y.

for its intrepid advocacy of Anti-Slavery doctrines, still does service to the cause of freedom. There are other religious papers in other States that use no equivocal language in contending for the rights of the slave.

It is gratifying to know that the *New York Observer*, one of the oldest religious weekly papers in the country, which has long been considered more pro-slavery than the reverse, occasionally speaks out like a patriot and Christian freeman on the subject of Slavery. This paper has recently, in an able article, refuted the argument frequently put forth both at the North and South, that sending slaves into new territory does not increase the number of slaves. The Observer, that has, in times past, thrown so much ridicule upon abolitionists, now pronounces Slavery to be the great question of the age, and warns the South against proceeding in its encroachments, while it truly represents the prevalence and strength of the Anti-Slavery cause at the North. It is, however, melancholy to perceive that this paper is still so behind the spirit of the age as to say that the policy of the North is a "masterly inactivity," a "let-alone," "do-nothing policy," and that "our southern brethren have done more to get rid of the evil than could have been reasonably anticipated." This may do for a Northern *Observer* to say, but it is wholly inconsistent with the duty of a vigilant sentinel on the walls of Zion in the nineteenth century.

A writer in the *Louisville* "*Examiner*," in an article on the "Position of the Church on the subject of Slavery," states, that the worst slaveholders are men

"Who have emigrated from the North to the South, and married plantations of land and gangs of slaves, with *wives annexed to them*." "If there be men on earth who need daggers spoken to their hearts in the use of reproof, these are the men. They are masses of selfishness. They have no *real* sympathy for the South, but, to secure for themselves present popularity or worldly gain, are willing that their southern brethren should be cursed for ever with the leprosy of the slave system. From my observation the most cruel and inveterate slaveholders are those northern ecclesiastics, who have gone South to better their condition. . . . These Esaus, when they sell their principles for a mess of pottage, are prepared to go all lengths in servility; and when I look at the number of preachers in the various denominations who have done this thing, there is no doubt in my mind, that the greatest hinderance to emancipation in the South is to be found in *their* fierce opposition."

The same writer proceeds to say—

"The cause of emancipation will never move on as it *ought*, until the *Church*, in its various denominations, arouses from her slumbers, and coöperates in the work. The Church, by the appointment of her great Head, is the light of the world and the salt of the earth. She is Heaven's appointed instrumentality for carrying on all reformatory movements in this sin-cursed world. . . . It depends upon this class of men whether the reforms of the present day shall succeed or not. The press and the politicians may do their utmost to arouse the public conscience to a proper state of feeling on the subject of Slavery; but if the ministers of the gospel, in the pulpit, on the Sabbath, apply narcotics to the conscience, by learned apologetic disputations on 'doulos' and 'despotes,' all will be in vain. I solemnly believe that the responsibility of the existence of Slavery in the United States, with all its innumerable evils, rests upon the *Church*. She might have abolished it long ago, had she been apostolical in her zeal and faithfulness. But she yielded to every demand made by Slavery, so that now she herself is enslaved. I know, that when such facts as these are stated, it is common in some quarters to cry out, 'Infidelity!' 'Infidelity!' It was so when Luther sounded the tocsin, and alarmed the guilty conscience of the priesthood of Germany. It was so when Knox, a slave in the galleys of the Loire, flung the image of the 'mother of God' into the river, calling it a '*pented bredd*.' But we must not be frightened away from our great work by such senseless jargon as this. We have a right to demand that the Church *should* be what she *ought* to be, and MIGHT be, and MUST be, if the dial of the world's progress is not to go back ten degrees."

The loose practice in the churches in slave States, in admitting slaves, who have adulterous connections, is notorious to the world. No doubt many slaves, allied by affection and by Heaven-approving vows, are guiltless in the sight of God, although not legally married; but what shall be said of churches, professing to keep the holy commandments, and to be governed by the precepts of Christ and the Apostles, that connive at the laws and usages of slaveholding States and communities, and let down the discipline of the church to conform to the wicked practices of those who compel slaves, and by the act allow themselves, to commit adultery without censure, nay, with approbation. It is the practice of the Presbyterian church at the South, and doubtless of churches of all denominations, to receive professors who are slaves, on certificate, and to give certificates, as slaves are sold from one place to another, that they are in "good and regular standing" in the churches; nothwithstanding, it is known that such slaves "drop" and take up "matrimonial" connections at every remove.

The writer, already quoted, continues as follows:—

"It is a fact, which thousands of good people are ignorant of, that

the churches in this country receive to the communion-table great numbers of members who live in the known and habitual practice of concubinage and adultery! These are the slaves who are forced to violate the divine institution of marriage. The Methodist Church, South, has no less than 124,000 such adulterers in her communion; and how many the Baptists and Presbyterians of the United States have, is unknown. I shall not stop to inquire, whether it is not a greater sin and disgrace to allow those to come to the communion-table, who keep and compel the slaves to live in adultery. But here is a fact, known to all men conversant with the subject, that hundreds of thousands of professing Christians in the United States are living in the practice of adultery and concubinage."

The Rev. Dr. Tomlinson, President of Augusta College, Kentucky, on the floor of the General Conference of the M. E. Church North, last year, in alluding to the Church South, said:—

"I do not hesitate to say, that the controlling influence in that organization is decidedly, unblushingly, and I may add exultingly, pro-slavery in its character. And the Church itself stands before the world, and will stand before posterity, and, as I verily believe, before the bar of God, as a pro-slavery church. It is the first and only church that ever has been; and for the honor of our holy Christianity, I do trust in God that it is the last one that ever will be formed with the evident design of throwing up an impregnable rampart for the maintenance and perpetuation of human Slavery! ('Amen,' from different parts of the house.) And, surely, sir, it is one of the most humiliating spectacles that the sun ever shone upon, that while the civilized world is making a gigantic and glorious struggle in behalf of human liberty, men bearing the name of Methodist preacher, and tracing their genealogy to John Wesley, should be found with coats off, sleeves rolled up, and hammer in hand, as it were, to rivet more tightly, and to rivet for ever, the chains of human bondage. Sir, it is a shame—it is a burning shame—it is a most grievous desecration of the very name of Methodism—it is doing gross injustice to the memory of our venerated founder—it is a flagrant outrage against the spirit of the times—it is a scandal to the Christian ministry in the light of the nineteenth century—it is a scandal to human nature. And in perfect keeping with these sentiments, an able and excellent minister of another denomination, who was born and reared in a slave State, and who then resided and still resides in an interior slave State, remarked to me in conversation on this subject, that the course pursued by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, on the subject of Slavery, was enough to bring the bones of John Wesley out of his grave."

A paper published in a slave State, in alluding to a speech made by a clerical defender of Slavery, scouts the idea of attempting at this day to justify the institution from either the

Old or New Testament, and previous to a severe castigation of the speaker remarks:

"We do not know that if we had followed the dictates of our own judgment, we should have thought it worth while to reply to such an address. If from some old ruined convent, which the owl had made his home for centuries, the gloomy ghost of some monk of the dark ages should come forth, raise his slow moving hand, and in deep sepulchral tone deliver a discourse on the divine right of kings, and the glory of the 'good old times' when the robber baron had nothing to do but plunder and destroy, we do not know that it would be important to attempt to overthrow his doctrines."

Rev. J. G. Fee, of Kentucky, writes, January, 1849:

"We have peace and freedom of discussion at every point in which we labor. My most sanguine expectations, three years since, did not anticipate such freedom of speech as we now have; nor did I expect to see such progress among the people in Anti-Slavery sentiment. A pure and a whole gospel can be preached here, and though, as Nehemiah did, we have to hold the sword (for the moral conflict) with one hand, and build with the other, the wall can be builded."

The American Home Missionary Society has called Slavery "a horrible anomaly in American institutions," and in doing so, has used bolder language than any other of our professed religious associations not strictly Anti-Slavery. We should rejoice to know that this large and influential Society is wielding its vast influence against Slavery by deeds as well as words, and never in its favor. But it is stated that the missionaries of this Society have received more slaveholders to the Church than all the missionaries to the Indian tribes together, about which so much has been said the past year, and of which we shall speak under the proper head. What then is the duty, it is asked, of Anti-Slavery Christians, in regard to the American Home Missionary Society, especially when they think that Slavery in the Choctaw churches is a scandal? A writer from the far West inquires:

"Shall we contribute to send to the oppressed of our own land, a gospel that shakes hands with the oppressor and perpetuates the wrong?" If any continue to sustain that Society, "are they not bound to remonstrate against the planting and sustaining of more slaveholding churches—against placing its missionaries in connection with and under the control of ecclesiastical bodies composed of slaveholders—against allowing them to live and preach from year to year, where it exists, without rebuking it—against the reception of

more slaveholders to fellowship in churches planted by its missionaries—against inviting slaveholders, *as Christians*, to contribute to its funds, and otherwise promote its interests?"

Allusion was made in the last Annual Report to the action of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, with respect to the practice of its missionaries admitting slaveholding Choctaw Indians into their churches, and allowing the missionaries to hire slaves for domestic purposes, and pay the Indian masters their wages. At the annual meeting of the Board, last September, Mr. Treat, one of its Secretaries, made a report of his visit of investigation to the Choctaw and Cherokee mission stations, from which we gather the following facts:

The Choctaws and Chickasaws live under one government, being one nation. Some suppose that Slavery was introduced among the Choctaws and Cherokees by white men, about a hundred years ago, and others trace the beginning of the evil to the war of the Revolution. The character of their Slavery remains, in its essential features, as it ever has been. There are about 700 slaves among the Cherokees and nearly 2000 in the Choctaw nation—the number, as compared with the Indian population, as one to ten. The legislation of the Choctaws has been less enlightened than that of the Cherokees. They have, in imitation of their white brethren at the South, laws forbidding missionaries from publicly favoring "the destructive doctrines of abolitionism." Slavery has been prejudicial to the success of the mission. A large number of slaves are members of the churches. A few of the slaveholders had abandoned the practice. The mass of the people have no interest in Slavery. *The policy of the missionaries has been to preach the gospel, without aiming to exert any direct influence on the subject of Slavery.* Slaveholding members of churches are not subject to church censure. No slaves have been purchased by the Board since February, 1836. The whole number of church members in the Cherokee nation is 237; of these 24 are slaveholders, 23 slaves. In the Choctaw nation, 872 members; 38 slaveholders, 104 slaves.

Mr. Treat communicated the facts, without the expression of an opinion from himself or the Board. The missionaries have made a written defense of their position. The Secretaries, in reply,

Dissent therefrom, and state that they do not claim any control over the missionary churches, except in the matter of withholding funds, and speak of Slavery as "a tremendous evil." They admit a distinction between Slavery and slaveholding; the first being always and everywhere a sin, and the second, under some circum-

stances, not sinful. Slavery lies directly across the path of the missionary, and must be met. A person involved in slaveholding is to be considered as living in sin, and *on him* it devolves to show, if he can, that in his case there are palliating circumstances. The missionaries are to set their faces against all overt acts of cruelty, and they are instructed to pursue such a course as will free the Choctaw churches from Slavery. In 1836, the expediency of buying slaves, with liberty to work out their purchase money, was considered, and it was decided that this be no longer tolerated; and as to *hiring* slaves, it is deemed inexpedient in the mission to resort to this kind of labor.

The Board advised the postponement of the discussion, proposed by the reading of the documents, till the correspondence should be finished. Rev. J. Blanchard, of Illinois, offered the following resolutions:

"1. That this Board distinctly admits and affirms the principle that slaveholding is a practice not to be allowed in the Christian church.

"2. That it is, in the judgment of this Board, the duty of the missions in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations to abolish the practice of hiring slaves to do the work of their schools, and to conform to the recommendation of their Secretary, (Mr. Treat,) that slaveholding should be prima facie evidence against an applicant for admission to the church."

He said:

"The Choctaw Mission was, by its own showing, incorrigibly pro-slavery. It receives slaveholders into the communion of the mission church, and makes their slaveholding no more an objection, than it makes the Slavery of the slaves in receiving *them*. And it not only does this, but in the pulpit and in the private conversation of the missionaries, all reference to Slavery as an evil or a sin is avoided. More than that, in spite of the remonstrances of the Secretaries of the Board for twelve years, the Choctaw Mission School is served by slaves. All the work for the institution was done by slaves."

The resolutions were rejected, and afterwards reconsidered. The mover offered to withdraw them, if they, with a minute of his course, could be entered upon the records. This was opposed; but on the venerable Dr. Beecher, of Ohio, "solemnly protesting against the position of the Board, and stating that unless the churches of the great West could be heard from the records of the Board, it would assuredly lose all confidence and support in that quarter," Mr. B.'s request was complied with.

The missionaries have remonstrated against the course pur-

sued by the Board; one of them in rather extraordinary language. They say that Secretary Green, after the instructions were sent out forbidding the hiring of slaves, instructed them, in 1843, that they would not be censured if they found it necessary to hire slaves; and that they have sought in vain to obtain the help of free persons.* The pro-slavery religious presses are remonstrating against the action of the Secretaries of the Board, while some of the Anti-Slavery religious papers are advising the Board to cut off these missions. The discussion will be renewed at the next annual meeting in September. The A. B. C. F. M. could do much in aid of universal liberty, without departing from its original plan; and we see not how the "one great object" originally contemplated can be attained, unless its influence be always used, both here and abroad, on the side of freedom. Great is their responsibility! We trust that every patron of the Board will protest against their dodging the question, and quieting the excitement produced throughout the country, by advising or consenting that the missions be put under the supervision of a Pro-Slavery Society, as a wrong done to the slave, as a betrayal of the principles of Christianity, and as a disgrace to the American Church. God in his providence has thrown upon the Board the responsibility of carrying out a measure due to humanity and to Christ. Let it not be evaded.

The great perpetualist of South Carolina, soon after our last anniversary, announced in the Senate of the United States, that the "*fatal error*" of the age—"an error under which, unless detected and discarded, Europe and all Christendom may fall into hopeless anarchy, as the first result, to be terminated in military despotism," . . . "is the universal idea that all men are born free and equal." And he avers the assertion in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," to be equally erroneous, inasmuch as, according to the Scriptures, only two of the human race were created—one man and one woman. During the recent session of Congress he made

* The missionaries say they have urged the Prudential Committee and the churches at the North to furnish them with such help, in the performance of secular labor, as would relieve them from the necessity of employing slave-labor; but their appeals have been unheeded. Is there not, we ask, self-denial enough among the friends of the Board to volunteer sufficient help to supply the necessities of the missions? Shall the cause of religion, and the cause of missions, be disgraced, or these missions be "cut off" or abandoned, because there are not laboring men and women in the free States who will attach themselves to the missions?

an abortive attempt to rally the whole pro-slavery strength of the South in that body, in opposition to the Free Soil movement. After sundry meetings, violent speeches, discussions of resolutions, the presentation of an address, and a substitute address, and the secession of the more moderate, the southern disunionist was able to procure only forty-five names to the address prepared by himself. This address recapitulates what are called the wrongs of the South, and though it does not venture to recommend any positive action, urges the expediency of a southern organization, with a view to systematic resistance, to the last extremity, of any proceeding on the part of Congress tending to prohibit the introduction of Slavery into California and New Mexico.*

The whole project is considered a failure. But a small portion of the South has responded to it. The most considerate statesmen of the South, both in Congress and out of that body, repudiate the Calhoun doctrines, and are for maintaining the Union at all hazards. A southern paper states that there are many moderate men at the South who spurn the appeal of the disunionists and perpetualists; that there are not a few in favor of Free Soil, even in South Carolina; and we have the authority of the *New York Observer*, that the Anti-Slavery feeling in the slaveholding States is increasing. That there are men, however, in these States, who have the audacity to oppose the Wilmot Proviso, even to the death, and to make the attempt to introduce their system of Slavery into the provinces wrested from Mexico, is manifest from the fact that some of these desperadoes are issuing proposals for the organization of several armed companies for the Sacramento, "each member to take with him at least one, and not more than four slaves." It is asserted also, that slaveholders who have learned that slaves are the best miners, are on their way to California with their "servants," or "boys," and that slave-drivers are mustering *gangs* to proceed thither on speculation. Meantime preparations are made to establish presses in that country, that will discuss the subject of human rights; and thus the attention of the vast multitudes, from all parts of the world, which are pouring into the gold regions, will be called to the question. What the issue will be, Omniscience alone can determine. The Committee have in the press an elaborate address to the inhabitants of California and New Mexico, embodying a large number of facts

* Very little sympathy for the oppressed in Europe, who are striving to throw off the tyranny of their rulers, has been manifested in South Carolina, or indeed in any of the slave States. The reason is obvious.

with regard to the comparative value of free and slave labor in the different departments of agriculture and the mechanic arts, with a view to give it an extensive circulation in the new territories; and they are advised that several abolitionists have gone thither with a determination to exert all the influence in their power to withstand the encroachments of Slavery, and encourage the people in establishing free governments.

While the great question, whether Slavery shall be established in California and New Mexico, is pending, the equally exciting topic, whether Slavery shall continue forever in the States now cursed with it, is discussed with unwonted universality and power. In Kentucky a convention is to be held in October next, to revise the constitution of that State, and the friends of emancipation are zealously laboring to arouse public sentiment in favor of some judicious plan for the extinction of that curse upon human industry and happiness. The *Examiner*, an able Anti-Slavery paper at Louisville, is discussing the subject in all its bearings, and public meetings of persons favorable to emancipation are held in different parts of the State. The political press is engaged either in defense or in opposition of the plan. "Slavery is a legalized tyranny over natural right," says one of them. The friends of emancipation are issuing a variety of publications, calculated to enlighten and convince their fellow-citizens of the safety of the measure, and leading politicians and clergymen are taking part in the moral conflict.* At a meeting in *Louisville*, Charles M. Thurston, a distinguished lawyer, declared that the old political questions were all of secondary importance to that of *Slavery*. He spoke of its evils, and exclaimed, "would to God we were rid of it!" One burst of enthusiastic applause followed this expression. At Lexington a public meeting has been held, which was addressed by Henry Clay and R. J. Breckenridge. On motion of the latter, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I. This meeting, composed of citizens of the County of Fayette, met, in pursuance of public notice, to consider the question of the perpetuation of Slavery in this commonwealth, considering that hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among us:

1. Is contrary to the rights of mankind;
2. Is opposed to the fundamental principles of free government;
3. Is inconsistent with a state of sound morality;
4. Is hostile to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, are therefore

* An "Address to the Non-slaveholders of Kentucky," read and adopted at a meeting of the mechanics and laboring men of Louisville, has been published and widely diffused.

of opinion, that it ought not to be made perpetual, and that the convention about to meet to amend the constitution of this State affords a proper occasion on which steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of Slavery, in such way as shall be found practicable in itself, just as regards the masters of slaves, and beneficial to the slaves themselves.

A meeting of the friends of emancipation was held in Lancaster, Ky., at which it was resolved that they would use every honorable and laudable exertion to convince their neighbors and friends of the blighting curse of Slavery upon the industry, wealth, education, enterprise and prosperity of their beloved Commonwealth, and in an open, candid and fearless manner, vindicate the practicability and urge the necessity of some salutary step to relieve posterity of its influence.

Mr. Clay has addressed a long letter to Richard Pindell, Esq., dated *New Orleans*, Feb. 17, 1849, on emancipation, which has been published throughout the country, and excited much attention. While he stigmatizes Slavery, in appropriate and severe terms, he recommends to the people of Kentucky a plan of emancipation that appears to be both unjust and absurd. It is to colonize (expatriate) to Africa, at the age of twenty-five, all slaves born after 1855 or 1860; that slaves born after 1855 or 1860 shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-five. Under this arrangement the first will not be liberated until the year 1880 or 1885! This may be very consistent on the part of the President of the *American Colonization Society* to recommend, but we trust there is too much humanity in the emancipationists of Kentucky to give it a favorable consideration, even for a moment. It is, however, refreshing to read in his letter, the remarks of this veteran statesman, in favor of the rights of man, so different from his past declarations, and considering the circumstances in which he is placed, so honorable to him. "He re-affirms," says a Virginia paper, "doctrines and views held by Jefferson, and some of the best men in Virginia." He scouts the notion held by the Calhoun and M'Duffie school, that Slavery is a blessing, and favorable to liberty.

"Happily," he says, "the number who entertain these extravagant opinions is not very great, and the time would be uselessly occupied in elaborate refutation of them. I would, however, remark, that if Slavery be fraught with these alledged benefits, the principle on which it is maintained would require that one portion of the white race should be reduced to bondage to serve another portion of the same race, when black subjects of Slavery could not be obtained;

and that they may entertain as great a preference for their color as we do for ours, they would be justified in reducing the whites to Slavery, in order to secure the blessings which they state it is said to diffuse."

He thus alludes to the argument in favor of Slavery derived from the alledged inferiority of the African race:

"It would prove too much. It would prove that every white nation, which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge, and wisdom, than another white nation, would have a right to reduce the latter to a state of bondage. Nay, farther, if the principle of subjugation founded upon intellectual superiority be true, and be applicable to races and nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wisest man in the world would have a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind!"

We conclude our notice of this remarkable letter, by the following quotation, worthy of the applause and adoption of every true friend of God and man:

"If, indeed, we possess this superiority, profoundly grateful and thankful to Him who has bestowed it, we ought to fulfil all the duties and obligations which it imposes, and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly by our fellow-men who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them."

A correspondent of the *New York Observer* writes from this State, under date of April 14, 1849, in substance as follows:

I announce to the readers of the *Observer*, with the utmost confidence in the truth of my prediction, that the fate of Slavery is sealed in Kentucky. Both political parties vied with each other in the late Legislature, to manifest the greatest opposition to emancipation; to make "political capital," they repealed the law forbidding the introduction of slaves from other States, which will temporarily revive the slave-trade; but the act will be repealed, and in the new constitution provision will be made, allowing additions and amendments by future Legislatures. Slaveholders, besides scruples of conscience, are feeling most sensibly in their pockets the economical evils of Slavery. The greatest opposition to emancipation is to be found, not among them, but among the non-slaveholders, who are told by demagogues that the object is to free the slaves to make slaves of the poor whites. The ablest and best men in Kentucky are opposed to Slavery from every consideration, also the ablest statesmen and jurists, and several influential journals have opened their columns to the free discussion of the subject.

The *Louisville Courier*, in an article on the "Degradation of Labor," states that it is not uncommon to hear slaveholders, even such as are reputed to be sensible men, say they would not on any account consent that their sons should fill a menial

station in a free State, and in an eloquent strain rebukes such anti-republican and anti-Christian sentiments. He thinks they do not prevail in any section of the Union, saving "the sunny South," and thinks they afford to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian, the strongest arguments in favor of emancipation, while they set at naught the precepts and example of the great First Cause and Author of all labor. But other slaveholders are wiser. They say, "Let the South learn to live at home." "If we at the South will manufacture as well as grow the raw material, it will be independent of the North, and teach a salutary lesson to them." And a New York editor, on a visit to the South, has described a manufacturing establishment that gives indications of prosperity. At first, he says, the proprietors employed slave labor; but finding it hazardous and unprofitable, they now employ poor whites under Yankee overseers. We rejoice to hear of such establishments, and hope they will be increased until all the white population at the South find respectable and profitable employment. Thus labor will be made honorable there, non-slaveholders raised from their present miserable condition, and intelligent laborers flock to the Southern States. When the South has raised up white artisans, they will virtually have put an end to Slavery themselves, says one of their own number. The North will also be benefited in many respects, and will especially be relieved from the heavy losses which occasionally occur when financial matters are so deranged that their southern customers find themselves unable to meet their engagements. The South has too often *lived abroad*, and the North will not be envious if she resolves henceforth to *live at home*. If, in addition to manufactories, the South will build school-houses and colleges, so that her youth can *study* at home, they and the whole country will be benefited. When such a state of things takes place reciprocal trade will ensue, industry will be honored and recompensed, and slaves and slave-labor cease to exist. We regret to learn that Mr. Calhoun and his school do not favor the establishment of manufacturing establishments at the South.* They doubtless fear the consequences of converting the poor non-slaveholders into working men, as raising this class will eventually raise the colored population also. General industry is as dangerous as universal education.

* The *State Banner*, of Columbia, S. C., says: "We regard every factory establishment at the South as a fatal blow struck at free trade, and if this is not also a covert blow at the institution of Slavery itself, we shall be agreeably disappointed."

The leading paper in Delaware says, "The march of Anti-Slavery principles in Delaware is steady and sure, and by the time a Convention is called we shall be ready to blot out the foul stain of Slavery." Of the Fifth Annual Report of the *Delaware Anti-Slavery Society*, lately published, the *National Era* says, "it is full of hope, and in no wise disheartened that its efforts for the overthrow of Slavery in that State have not yet been crowned with success." No less than 490 citizens of New Castle County petitioned the Senate of Delaware, last winter, for the abolition of Slavery.

In Louisiana, H. B. Brashear, a slaveholder, has become an out-and-out Free-Soiler. The following is the substance of his remarks:

He thinks the Union will be endangered by the formation of more slave States; that the institution of Slavery in Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, acquired by a common treasure, was a flagrant violation of Northern conscience. In common with enlightened Southerners, he considers Slavery to be morally and politically wrong, and thus accounts for its universal abhorrence throughout all ages. He says the question must be settled on its merits—on broad, national, philanthropic, constitutional grounds — on the grounds of principle and a common interest. The ultra views of the political Hotspurs engaged in the Southern Convention must not be allowed to endanger the stability of the fabric of our "blood-bought" Confederacy. As a Southern man, he utterly repudiates these fanatics, and looks upon them "as *mad*, if heated by heartless assaults—as *traitors*, if cool and deliberate."

A Free Soil paper was published in Missouri during the late Presidential campaign. It is said that Senator Benton is about making a tour of the State to address his constituents in favor of Free Soil. No man can exert more political influence probably than he. The people of Missouri have entered into an examination of the subject of the system of Slavery; and we trust that the non-extension and non-existence of Slavery will at no distant day be the watchwords of this growing State.

The *Hermann Wochenblatt*, a German paper published in this State, takes the side of Free-Soil. It is natural that foreigners, seeking homes in this country, should select States where Slavery does not exist, and should coöperate with the friends of Liberty to extirpate it, if they happen to fix their abode near its contaminating influence. An able pamphlet has been lately issued in Missouri, entitled "Address to the Democracy of Missouri," signed by some of the most respectable men of St. Louis. It recognizes the evils of Slavery, states

that it retards the growth and prosperity of communities, impairs enterprise and paralyzes the industry of a people, impedes the diffusion of knowledge, to say nothing of its aristocratical tendencies, and the degradation which it attaches to labor. Without considering it in a religious or moral aspect, but viewing it solely as a political and economical question, they say it is neither honest nor democratic to entail such an institution upon the regions which we now hold in trust for unborn millions. They go for the Wilmot Proviso, and profess to be the friends and supporters of Mr. Benton.

A Free Soil Convention was held in Maryland last August. It approved the proceedings of the great Convention at Buffalo, and issued an "Address to the People of Maryland," which was pronounced by the editor of the *National Era* to be "truthful, argumentative and eloquent." At a public meeting in Cecil county it was resolved that "Slavery is a political, social, and moral evil of the first magnitude, the direct tendency of which is to convert the energy of the community into indolence, and its power into weakness."

In September last, a Free Soil meeting was held in Orange county, North Carolina. In the resolutions adopted, decided disapprobation is expressed against the "wresting by the sword from a sister republic, a large portion of territory, now free, for the purpose of instituting hereditary Slavery;" also of the evils of Slavery, a system that they "know to be injurious and detrimental to any republican community where it may exist, by tempting many useful citizens to forsake honorable and useful employment, and engage in ruinous and extravagant speculations, bringing free labor into disrepute, obstructing the fine arts, and finally impoverishing the soil by dastardly cultivation."

In South Carolina, although Mr. Calhoun and his admirers take lofty ground, as if a "sixth monarchy" were to be founded, whose center should be the Palmetto State, yet we are assured that considerable numbers of men are even there calculating the cost, political, physical and moral, of rebellion and perpetual slavery. Mr. Calhoun himself, in his address to the people of the southern slave States, already alluded to, acknowledges the extension and power of the Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and prognosticates that it will, ere long, put an end to Slavery.

The opponents of abolition have usually taken opposite ground, even those who, while professing hostility to Slavery, have deprecated action on the part of the North. We make the following extracts from the address, which, it will be seen,

is genuine South Carolina testimony, in favor of the Anti-Slavery movement.

"This agitation, and the use of these means (the discussion of Slavery in the North,) have been continued, with more or less activity, for a series of years, *not without doing much towards the object intended.*"

Again :—

"We have now brought to a close a narrative of a series of aggression and encroachment connected with the subject of this address, including those that are consummated and those still in progress. They are numerous, great, and dangerous (to Slavery), and threaten with destruction the greatest and most vital of all the *interests and institutions of the South.* Indeed, it may be doubted, whether there is a single provision, stipulation, or guaranty of the Constitution, intended for the security of the South, that has not been rendered almost nugatory. *It may be made a serious question, whether the encroachments already made, without the aid of any other, would not, if permitted to operate unchecked, end in emancipation, and that at no distant day.*"

There are several other passages in this address, says the *American Statesman*, which convey the same idea, and with equal positiveness. The great champion of Slavery says distinctly to the people of the South, that what the northern opponents of Slavery are doing, will, if persisted in, put a speedy end to slavery. He admits that when Slavery is excluded from the Territories, and from other places where Congress has the exclusive right to legislate, "*the probability is, that emancipation would soon follow, without any final act to abolish Slavery.*"

The *Southern Argus* says—

"Heretofore every obstacle we have interposed to arrest the march of the insidious and flagitious attacks of the abolitionists on our domestic institutions has proved unavailing. Its approach has been slow and cautious, and it has gained upon us in every step as it advanced. Thus far, in every issue and contest, the South has receded, and fanaticism has come off victorious and triumphant."

The *Charleston Mercury*, the leading pro-slavery paper at the South, says—

"The late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a

case brought against the City of Boston, pronouncing laws restricting the introduction of aliens into that port, by the imposition of certain conditions, to be unconstitutional, and therefore void, will have the effect to sweep away the Inspection Laws of South Carolina, enacted to prevent the abduction of slaves in northern vessels, and also those made to prevent free-colored persons—citizens of Massachusetts, though they be—from entering her ports and cities."

Thus the cause of justice and humanity has been made to triumph, says a writer, through the instrumentality of citizens of the very State which was so grossly insulted in the person of her Commmissioner!

In Tennessee, the residence of ex-President Polk, especially in East Tennessee, Anti-Slavery sentiments, says the *Jonesboro' Whig*, are strong and decided, and this is the case also in Western North Carolina, Western Virginia, and Eastern Kentucky. A correspondent of a New York paper says:—

"The question is being a good deal agitated, and freely discussed. Many who own slaves, oppose the institution, and non-slaveholders almost to a man. In my neighborhood of some five miles square, there are about eighty families, and a number of them own slaves, and there is but one advocate of Slavery. A slaveholder said, 'It is of no use to avoid the question any longer. The sooner it is met the better, for God has declared that right shall prevail, and Slavery must end.' Another individual who occupies a high station in society said, 'Agitate the question, and Anti-Slavery will prevail.' I might produce hundreds, yes, thousands of expressions of opinion equally strong and decisive. The great difficulty seems to be as to the manner of getting rid of the evil."*

The *Knoxville Tribune* has been publishing a series of very able papers in favor of emancipation; but the writer, enveloped in the fog that usually surrounds southern emancipationists, argues in favor of *gradual* emancipation and *colonization*. "Let us have," he says, "a convention of representatives of the people, with a view to amend the constitution," "and then we may, under the blessing of God, open the way for the full and final redemption of the State."

In Virginia the leaven of emancipation is working with mighty power. A Free Soil ticket was voted for there last fall. The *Loudon Whig* said of the movement, "Those who have gotten it up, and who intend to vote for it, have a perfect right to do so, and are entitled to all the courtesy extended to the

* The Editor of the *New York Observer*, in copying the above, suggests no mode! It might be useful for him to read, and then forward to his brother Editor in Tennessee, the Essay of Elizabeth Heyrick.

stronger party in the State." The attempt was said to be a failure, but a correspondent says, "some noble spirits contended manfully." A Virginian writer, in the *National Era*, concludes a vigorous article in these words: "We go for *Free Soil, Free labor*, and *Free men*. Go it, good people of Shenandoah, and expect the aid of patriots, philanthropists, and all lovers of free government, the cause of God, and the inestimable rights of man."

From a native citizen of Virginia, who is well acquainted with the state of things there, we gather the following facts: Though every thing appears to be quiet in the State, yet it is more ripe for emancipation than any other slave State, not excepting Kentucky and Delaware. In both political parties there are good and influential men, who are anxiously considering and comparing opinions as to the best means of liberating the slaves. Not a few are earnestly praying that Slavery may soon cease—that it may be extended no farther—that there be no more slave States. A large number of the most sagacious slaveholders see that the time is approaching when Slavery must be done away, and they are, in anticipation of that event, selling their slaves, or moving out of the State with them. Virginia is alarmed at the measures taken in Alabama and Georgia, to prevent more slaves from being introduced into their borders; those States having revived the laws so long a dead letter, which direct the forfeiture of all slaves imported into their limits, and the imprisonment of those who bring them. Fifty slaves were recently taken from a slave-driver in Georgia, and he was thrown into prison. Governor Smith, of Virginia, has again recommended to the Legislature a plan for banishing the free colored inhabitants to other countries. Virginia has degraded this portion of her population, and now, seeking to justify herself by their alledged inferiority, which is blasphemously attributed to the Providence of God, proposes to *deport the victims*. Considerable indignation has been manifested on the part of some of the citizens of the State, at the Governor's recommendation. Contrasted with this barbarous scheme is the recent act of the Legislature of Louisiana, appropriating annually the sum of one thousand dollars for the support of schools for the children of color. Up to this time the free people of color have contributed their full share of taxes for the maintenance of the public schools, without, in the slightest degree, participating in their benefits.

James Bruce, in his late speech at Halifax C. H., maintains that Slavery is unprofitable. The people of Western Virginia

who own but few slaves, and who, although more numerous than the people in Eastern Virginia, are outvoted by them, are determined to fix the ratio of representation upon white population alone. They can do it. The Governor is now elected by the Legislature, but the people of Western Virginia are determined that he shall be elected by the people. This alteration of the constitution would throw the election into the hands of the people of Western Virginia, including the valley. As revolutions seldom go backward, when once the majority of white citizens of Virginia rise in their majesty to claim the right which has been so long withheld from them by the minority, they will sweep away an institution hostile to their best interests.

There is a law prohibiting free colored persons remaining in the State; notwithstanding which, at the last census there were 60,000 within its borders, and it is supposed the number is now 80,000. It is estimated that there are from ten to twenty thousand now living in Virginia, whose freedom is provided for by will. Many who have had their freedom given them by deceased testators are still held in bondage. There is a suit now pending in Virginia, where the testator bequeathed liberty to 150 slaves, who are still in bondage, while the widow is contesting the will. It is calculated that about 15,000 are sold every year, and leave the State under the charge of slave-drivers. They are chiefly young persons. About 3,000 run away annually. Nearly every other farmer in the State resorts to a sale of two or three slaves every year to make up his deficiencies of income. In 1840, the number of slaves was 448,987. It is supposed the number has diminished one fourth. In the District of Columbia, Delaware, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, the slave population has also greatly decreased, and the white population increased. Many non-slaveholders are leaving these States. In Cincinnati there are between 200 and 300 mechanics who learned their trades in Virginia.

In the following paragraph taken from the *Richmond Southerner*, the editor of which, James M. Crane, is about going to San Francisco, to establish the *California Whig*, some of the above statements are confirmed :—

"It is not generally known, yet it is nevertheless true, that two-thirds of the people of Virginia are open and undisguised advocates of ridding the State of Slavery; and after the year 1850, when the census is taken, their views will be embodied in such form as to startle the South. We speak understandingly. We have within the last two years conversed with more than five hundred slaveholders in the

State; and four hundred and fifty out of the five hundred expressed themselves ready to unite on any general plan to abolish Slavery, upon almost any terms. Abolition fanaticism at the North has not produced this, but the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of territory have done it. Virginia may be put down as no longer reliable on this question. When she goes, the District of Columbia is free territory; then Delaware and Maryland will also go, and North Carolina and Kentucky will follow suit. This will surround the extreme South with free States; and when that day comes, which day is not far distant, we would just as lief own a parcel of wild turkeys as so many slaves."

Henry Ruffner, D.D., of Virginia, has published in the Louisville *Examiner* views of Slavery that are calculated to exert a beneficial influence both in that State and Kentucky. He says—

"It is admitted by nearly all in these States, so far as I know, that Slavery is an anomaly in this free country—a political and moral deformity, which we ought to remove as soon as it may be done with safety to the mutual welfare of whites and blacks. . . . . Both in East Virginia and West Virginia the conviction is spreading, that Slavery must be removed before the country can prosper. . . . The public discussion of it, heretofore suppressed, has been partially begun, and cannot be hereafter stopped.

The *Examiner* says—

"We rejoice they (southern members of Congress) admit, that Slavery is a legitimate subject of debate. . . . . The tide of public sentiment is setting with tremendous force against all old systems of bondage. . . . . If it be dangerous to discuss the subject, that fact furnishes a most conclusive reason why it should be discussed, thoroughly, earnestly, and immediately."

In the District of Columbia Dr. Bailey continues to edit his paper, the *National Era*, with increased success. About twelve thousand copies are printed and circulated weekly. His exchanges in the slave States amount to upwards of seventy; and editors in the South are frequently requesting him to add to the number. The influence of this paper, in many respects, has been most beneficial; and the editor is confident it has been as outspoken as its position would justify. The amenity with which it has been conducted has commended it to a large number of readers throughout the country; and we hope that the time is near at hand when this paper will discuss the subject of emancipation as fully and boldly as any judicious and enlightened friend of the cause could desire.

During the past year the Anti-Slavery citizens of the Dis-

trict have been active in promoting the cause. A Free Soil association was formed—a Free Soil ticket voted for, and an admirable address to the people of the United States published, both in newspapers and pamphlet form, which has already been referred to. In the address it is said :—

"The great evil which clings to the District, and encumbers its progress, is the weight of Slavery. This fatal malady makes the emigrant shun it—the active and enterprising born in it fly away, and those fixed by controlling circumstances, supine and incapable of the self-prompted, respected, inspirited industry which animates the bosom of the independent free laborer. Hence it is that the broad bosom of the Potomac is almost without ships—the great canal reaching far into the interior, almost without boats—its sluices, commanding the best water-power in the world, without manufacturing establishments —its cities, penetrated by large convenient channels, without business —and the fine, healthy, easily-cultivated country surrounding, to a great extent without population or cultivation.

The address concludes thus :—

"The members of the Free Soil Association of the District of Columbia renew the pledges of the first declaration of principles to their brethren throughout the Union. Their faith is immovably fixed on that true Magna Charta of human rights, in which Mr. Jefferson asserted the liberties of his country. They will give their best efforts to accomplish its great designs by all legitimate means. They will labor to extend the Ordinance of 1787, to preserve the freedom of the Territories, and will promote the progress of emancipation, through the safe, judicious and practicable modes suggested by Mr. Jefferson. We give our adhesion to the party formed on this basis; and from that party we expect an unfaltering support, to accomplish the objects of the multiplied petitions addressed by the people of this District to Congress, for deliverance from the oppression of the slave institution and the slave-trade."

In Congress during the last brief session, the friends of liberty have been active, intrepid, and in several efforts successful. Mr. Tuck moved that the committee should report on all the petitions and memorials for the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and the vote was 54 yeas and 89 nays. Mr. Giddings moved that the inhabitants of the District should express by vote whether Slavery should be abolished within its limits or not, "all male citizens over twenty-one years of age" being allowed to vote, slaves and free colored men, of course, included. The proposition was voted for by 79 members. The House of Representatives, on a motion of Mr. Gott, *instructed* the committee for the District of Columbia to introduce a bill abolishing the slave-trade in the District by a

vote of 98 to 87. No movement in Congress has excited more general exultation in the non-slaveholding States. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas the traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the republic in human beings is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hinderance to the progress of *republican liberty* among the nations of the earth, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill as soon as practicable, prohibiting the slave-trade in said District."

The following memorial was received by the House:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The undersigned, members of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Washington, having, in common with their fellow-citizens, long regarded with disapprobation the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia for purposes of sale or traffic elsewhere, and deeming it alike prejudicial to the interest of our city and offensive to public sentiment, request your honorable body to restrain such traffic by the enactment of some law similar in its provisions to that embraced in the code of laws for the District of Columbia, reported to the House of Representatives in the year 1832, by Mr. Wilde of Georgia, and to the Senate by Mr. Chambers, of Maryland, the enactments in the adjoining States of Maryland or Virginia on this subject—or grant to the respective corporate authorities of Washington and Georgetown such powers as will enable them to remedy this evil.

Mr. Edwards, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the District, as merchandise, or for sale, or for hire. It was debated, and the House refused to reject it or lay it upon the table. It went with the unfinished business. Attempts were made to reach the bill, but the minority were always alert and succeeded in preventing it.

On Mr. Gott's resolution being taken up, and a spicy debate ensuing, Mr. Botts, of Virginia, moved to lay the whole subject on the table. His motion failed, 94 yeas, 110 nays. The House immediately adjourned, on motion of an opponent to the bill, leaving it, contrary to the intentions of its friends, among the "unfinished business," and it was not reached during the session. Mr. Edwards' bill, also, by similar management, went to the "tomb of the Capulets," where it lay without being reached, although a clear majority were in favor of the bill. Judge Wick,

of Indiana, introduced a bill relative to the slave-trade in the District, and it was laid on the table, the vote not being considered a test question.

Mr. Palfrey asked leave to introduce a bill to repeal all acts or parts of acts of Congress establishing or maintaining Slavery or the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Leave not granted—yeas 69, nays 82.

The *Baltimore Sun* says,

"Slavery must be abolished in the District of Columbia sometime, and it were better it were abolished now, and the whole slave agitation, as a national affair, ended at once. We believe it would be greatly conducive to the peace of the nation, and better for the people of the District, if Slavery were abolished there, by their own consent and free will."

And the *New York Courier and Enquirer* remarks, "the Whigs may and should take measures to remove the capitol to the West, and where Slavery does not exist." Some of the southern editors say, "the people of the District have a right to do as they please."—"Though we deny the right of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District without the consent of the people, and compensating owners, yet we have no objection to the abolition of the slave-trade there"—and a Washington correspondent of the *Loudon* (Va.) *Chronicle*, says, "When we want Slavery abolished here, we will say so; and when *we* say so, we wish the South to remember her own long-cherished doctrine of non-interference. . . . Can Southern politicians forget that the abolition of Slavery is not yet to be begun in this country?"

A highly animated discussion took place in the House on the "Pacheco case," in which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Giddings particularly distinguished themselves, where a claim was made by a slaveholder for the value of a slave lost who had been seized as an enemy, during the late war, and as an enemy sent out of the country, which involved the constitutional question respecting property in man. The bill for the payment of this slave came near passing by one vote; it was then thought by a tie vote it slept on the files of the House; but it is ascertained, by an examination of the records, that the bill was defeated at the first vote—that this vote was subsequently reconsidered—that at a later period there was a tie vote—and finally, that the vote was put upon its passage and carried, 101 yeas to 99 nays. The adroit manœuvres of the slaveholding members proved too successful, opposed to the sluggishness of those who should have been more watchful sentinels on the citadel of Liberty.

Near the close of the session a bill for providing for a territorial government in California—with the Wilmot Proviso in it—was passed in the House by a vote of 126 yeas to 87 nays. The Senate, instead of passing the bill, adopted an amendment to the *Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill*, proposed by Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, which authorized the President of the United States to act as the legislator of the territories of California and New Mexico. The House disagreed to this amendment, but so modified it as to continue in force the laws of Mexico over the territories until they should be repealed by Congress. The Senate receded entirely from the amendment of Mr. Walker. "Thus ended this movement of the slave interest," says the sagacious editor of the *New York Evening Post*, "to open a passage by stealth into these territories." The Senate afterwards passed the bill of the House, which extended the revenue laws of the United States over the territories. They remain, with the local laws of Mexico, of course, in force. The inhabitants will probably adopt a temporary government for themselves. Dr. Bailey, of the Era, says, "a great triumph has been won for Freedom by the firmness and admirable management of its supporters in Congress. The slave power, for this session, is rebuked and defeated." Honorable mention should be made of the distinguished Anti-Slavery members of the late Congress, of GIDDINGS, HALE, PALFREY, TUCK, MANN; and of the other noble-minded men who contended so vigorously for Free Soil. Meantime the inhabitants of the new territories evince a strong repugnance to the introduction of Slavery. The *California Star* says in substance:

There is not a slave here, and the power of the home government is inadequate to their introduction into that territory. Those who attempt to transfer their slaves from the east to the west of the Rocky Mountains will meet with the inevitable loss of their property. They might as well attempt to remove them to New England or to Canada. The simple recognition of Slavery here would be looked upon as a greater misfortune to the territory, than though California had remained in its former state. Neither the soil, climate nor the productions of California are suited to slave-labor; and the slaves could not be held in bondage here. Congress has no right to bequeath such a calamity to the country, contrary to the wishes of the people.

That the people of Mexico abhor the extension of territory is manifest from the correspondence between Mr. Trist and the Mexican Commissioners. They evinced the strongest repugnance to the cession of territory, *with a prospect of the introduction of Slavery therein.* In what honorable contrast does their

language appear with that of the agent of our own country, in the following extracts from Mr. Trist's letter to Mr. Buchanan, dated September 4, 1848!

"Among the points which came under discussion, was the exclusion of Slavery from all territory which should pass from Mexico. In the course of their remarks on the subject, I was told that if it were proposed to the people of the United States to part with a portion of their territory, in order that the INQUISITION should be therein established, the proposal could not excite stronger feelings of ABHORRENCE than those awakened in Mexico by the prospect of the introduction of Slavery into any territory parted with by her. Our conversation on this topic was perfectly frank.

"I concluded by assuring them that the BARE MENTION of the subject in any treaty to which the United States was a party, was an absolute impossibility; that no President of the United States would dare to present any such treaty to the Senate; and that if it were in their power to offer me the whole territory described in our project, increased ten-fold in value, and, in addition to that, *covered a foot thick all over with pure gold, upon the single condition that Slavery should be excluded therefrom*, I could not *entertain the offer for a moment*, nor think even of communicating it to Washington."

The people of New-Mexico, assembled in Convention at Santa Fe, October 14, 1848, memorialized Congress, protesting against the dismemberment of their territory in favor of Texas, declaring that they did not desire to have domestic Slavery within their borders, but wished Congress to protect them against its introduction among them. Mr. Calhoun pronounced the memorial "disrespectful and most insolent." The question in the Senate, being upon the motion to print, there were 33 yeas, 14 nays.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent case, have decided the principle, that the laws which regulated the intercourse and general conduct of individuals within California at the time of the transfer to the United States remain in force until altered by the newly created power. Among the laws of Mexico in force within this Territory at the time of its acquisition, was one for abolishing Slavery. It is believed that a large number of considerate men, in the slaveholding States, will acquiesce in this decision. A correspondent of the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury* says:

"I know that there are those in our midst, who do not hesitate in private to declare their *honest conviction*, that they see no valid objection to excluding Slavery from the Territories. And there are some of them strong-minded men, themselves slaveholders, and native Charlestonians."

Still the slaveholding interest is making strenuous efforts to recover the position from which they have been driven, and to avert the downfall that seems, even to the sagacious of their own number, inevitable. Legislative resolutions, stump speeches, defying editorials, abound in the southern States, and have become more and more audacious, as the power of the slavocracy is tottering. The boisterous winds of faction, disunion and perpetualism are blowing in all directions, while the southern soil, after drinking the fertilizing showers of truth and holy freedom, that have been sent by a beneficent Providence to save the South from everlasting moral sterility and barrenness, is bringing forth blossoms, and fruits, and a rich harvest, that will gladden the friends of liberty throughout the world, and revive their hopes that this country, instead of being the base traitor to freedom, will prove itself the intrepid and consistent upholder and defender of republican institutions.

The malignant spleen of dying tyranny among American slaveholders has been exhibited during the past year in many instances, a few of which will be noticed. The ex-President, Mr. Polk, in the spirit of his predecessor, again recommended that an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars be made by Congress to reimburse the loss of property sustained by Ruiz and Montez, the Spaniards who were brought to our shores with the Amistad Africans, whose rightful claims to freedom were so apparent that even a majority of the members of the highest legal tribunal in the country, who were slaveholders, pronounced them free. And the American Senate, in full possession of the facts in the case—urged formerly with irresistible force by the departed JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, of glorious memory, and by ROGER SHERMAN BALDWIN, formerly the able advocate of the Amistad Africans, and now a member of the Senate—passed a bill making the appropriation, by a vote of 24 yeas against 21 nays! The bill was defeated in the other branch of the national legislature, as a similar bill had previously been. How long shall freedom and humanity be insulted by the "conservative" branch of Congress in attempts to soothe the feelings of American and Spanish slaveholders, whose "domestic institutions" received such a severe and unexpected blow from the sword of Justice wielded in defense of the rights of man?

The same legislative body, at its recent session, entertained the project of appropriating a large sum of money for the purpose of removing the free people of color—citizens of the United States—"Americans called Africans"—to Liberia, or elsewhere; and also to colonize such slaves as may be hereafter

manumitted for such purposes. A motion to refer the subject to the Committee on the *Judiciary* was resisted, and after an animated debate the whole subject was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 27 yeas to 23 nays—some slaveholders voting for and some against the proposition.

The Colonization Society still receives the support of slaveholders, as it has from the beginning of its existence. Not only does Mr. Clay, its President, advocate it in his recent letter on emancipation, but the sturdiest apologists and defenders of Slavery are among its firmest friends. At a late Colonization meeting in Kentucky, a clergyman, whose name is purposely concealed by an editor in that State who professes to be ashamed of the doctrine advanced, defended Slavery as a Bible institution.* That there are friends of liberty, also, and of the people of color, who continue to support this Society, we know, while we regret it. We are not apprised, however, of a single enlightened abolitionist in the land who looks upon the Colonization scheme with favor. In England we regret to learn that efforts are renewed, by the descendants of American Colonizationists, to enlist the feelings and secure the aid of British Anti-Slavery men to the cause. In a well written article in the *National Era*, of April 26, the editor states, with clearness and force, the objections American abolitionists have to the Colonization scheme, as it has been and is now conducted. We hope that our British friends will read that article. In the *African Repository*, for April, says the *Era*, are extracts of letters from emigrants at Cape Palmas, which convey unfavorable impressions of the condition of the colony. The colonists have not yet begun to raise their own articles of subsistence! "Every body has a number of native servants; the boys with just a handkerchief tied round their loins." It seems that the whole number of colored people colonized on the coast of Africa since the organization of the Society amounts to

* A discussion upon the subject of emancipation was held recently in Woodford county, Ky., between Rev. Mr. Waller and Thomas F. Marshall, Esq. Mr. Waller, who is a pro-Slavery candidate for the Convention, undertook the somewhat difficult task of proving Slavery a Divine institution. In his earnest advocacy of the sacred cause, Mr. W. labored to show that Slavery has the direct approval and sanction of Jehovah. Mr. Marshall rose to reply. All who know his peculiar manner of speaking, can easily imagine the effect produced by his reply, as pungent as it was brief:

"The gentleman," says Mr. Marshall, "has attempted to prove that the blessing of Heaven rests upon the institution of Slavery. *I have too much respect for my God to attempt to defend Him from such a slander.*"

7,637. The Society was organized in 1816, but scarcely commenced operations till 1820. In that year the slave population of the United States numbered 1,538,064. Taking 25 per cent. as the rate of increase of that population since 1840, it numbers at this day not less than 3,000,000. So that while this great scheme for emancipating the slaves has required twenty-nine years to carry 7,637 persons to Africa, the slaves in the same period have doubled their numbers, showing an increase of 1,500,000. The bare statement of this fact is enough, the editor thinks, for any serious-minded man; and that, viewed as the remedy for American Slavery, the Colonization project is without a single claim to consideration. The wonder is how so large a number of the American people should have been deluded into the notion of its practicability. It is a remarkable fact that, while many of the abolitionists of the United States were once supporters of the Colonization Society, few or none have been enlisted into it from the Anti-Slavery body; and intelligent colored men, from a period long before the formation of Anti-Slavery associations to the present time, have almost unanimously considered the Colonization Society hostile to the interests of their people, and as the monster humbug of the age. Of course, this Committee and the Society they represent are friendly to all judicious measures for civilizing and Christianizing the inhabitants of Africa. This is fully attested by the patronage so many of them have bestowed upon the "American Missionary Association," under whose auspices the Amistad Africans were returned to their native land, and whose missionaries have done so much to stop the ravages of war, the prevalence of the slave-trade, and the use of intoxicating liquors, both on the coast and in the interior of Africa. And not an abolitionist in the country, it is believed, would refrain from joining heart and hand in every wise plan for the regeneration of Africa through the agency of Christian and enlightened colored people, either natives of Africa or of the United States, who should voluntarily go from this or other countries on such a benevolent errand. A plan has been put in operation at Barbadoes, by the people of color, to effect the extinction of the slave-trade in Africa, and promote the civilization and conversion of the inhabitants by the voluntary emigration of competent agents, "who, having been born and reared in civilized communities, possess the necessary qualifications for imparting a knowledge of the truths of the gospel, and of the arts of civilized life to their unenlightened brethren on the continent of Africa." How different this plan from that of Mr. Clay, who, in his recent letter

to Mr. Pindell, speaks of "the proud and conscious satisfaction" of removing the "servile and degraded race of a different color" from among the proud white inhabitants of the United States!

The great sustaining power of the Colonization scheme has been the principle of *caste* that still exists, not exclusively in the breasts of Colonizationists or slaveholders, but in all the ramifications of society in the country. Aversion to the colored skin, in connection with condition in life, is almost universal. Abolitionists, as a body, and some who do not profess their principles, are in theory the enemies of caste; but it is to be lamented that so few are its practical opponents. It is the handmaid of Slavery, and operates upon the minds of the free people of color even in the free States with almost as much severity and cruelty as do the fetters and stripes upon the bodies of the slaves in the slave States. In England caste exists with reference to the badge of livery; and in America, chiefly, though not exclusively, in relation to the tincture of the skin. The indulgence of this prejudice is an affront to the Creator, and an insult to man, made in his own image. Heathenism dispenses with it in the presence of Juggernaut, while in Christian temples it exists without rebuke.

The little daughter of Frederick Douglass was excluded from the "Seward Seminary" at Rochester, N. Y., on account of her complexion, against the wishes of several of the scholars and their parents, because the teacher was too cowardly to risk giving offense to some of her patrons. Two respectable colored men, who were medical students and tax-paying citizens, were ejected from the medical hall in the University of New York, to which they had repaired to hear a lecture by one of the professors, having seen a public notice inviting the "profession and the public generally" to attend. The next day, on attending a public auction for the purpose of replenishing their libraries, the auctioneer refused to receive their bids. Colored youth, we are happy to learn, are not forbidden to attend lectures in Albany, N. Y., Pittsfield, Mass., Boston and Maine; but in the city of New York it seems they are neither permitted to attend the lectures, nor enter the classes of the University. In consequence of this contemptible subserviency of the allies of the slavocracy, some citizens petitioned the Legislature to withhold from this medical department any part of the public fund.

In speaking of caste, the Edinburgh Review says:

"Among all the injuries done by man to man, none has been so fruit-

ful of lasting evil, as the antipathy of caste in whatever form, whether representing the hateful distinctions of fanaticism and superstition, or the oppressive domination of a conqueror, or the vulgar insolence of mere diversity of race and color."

It is well worth the serious attention of the abolitionists of this country whether they cannot do more for the abolition of this mean and unchristian prejudice in business relations, in churches, in all the walks of life, and show by their steady and persevering example that they are exempted from its turpitude. Let them see to it that the atrocious conduct of the northern States in their treatment of the people of color, is not participated in by them. The South with great injustice and want of discrimination imputes to the abolitionists apathy towards the colored race in their own neighborhoods, while their philanthropy is active on the behalf of those at a distance. Let it be seen that there is no cause for such taunts, that while we seek to strike off the fetters from the abject slave, we labor to remove the disabilities of the degraded free, and evince in all our conduct a practical imitation of Him who is declared to be no respecter of persons.

The inter-state slave traffic is discussed with unwonted interest in most of the slave States. The press generally takes ground in favor of the enactment and rigid enforcement of laws against the introduction of slaves from one slave State into another. They believe that thus the border slave States will be forced to keep their slaves and take sides with the other slave States in all controversies on the subject of Slavery. They argue that the large influx of slaves from Maryland, Virginia, and other States, tends to depreciate the value of their own slaves; that by increasing the production of cotton, the planters in the old cotton-growing States cannot obtain so high prices as they might otherwise obtain; that it is virtually paying Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky for emancipating their slaves; that it is silently but effectually aiding the abolitionists in their efforts to promote the ultimate destruction of their slave institutions. Judge Floyd, of Georgia, calls the attention of the grand jury of Floyd county to the penal code and other existing laws. He instructs them as follows:

"By the penal code of 1833, the introduction of slaves from other States is strictly prohibited, except to residents *domiciliated*, and to those moving into the State with the view of becoming residents. The penalty is $500 for each slave, illegally introduced, and hard labor in the penitentiary for not less than one, nor over four years. The code prohibits, under a penalty of $500 for each slave, any one

from purchasing, hiring or receiving a slave thus illegally introduced."*

The *Southern Banner*, Georgia, takes opposite ground; and denies the correctness of the policy which seeks to prohibit the inter-state slave traffic: "It would be playing into the hands of the abolitionists by confining the slaves to the soil, and producing the necessity for emancipation when it shall be exhausted." The time is not distant, we fervently trust, when Congress will put forth its constitutional power to prohibit this inter-state slave-trade, so inhuman and disgraceful, and stigmatize it, as they have its kindred crime, the foreign slave-trade, as piracy!

In no part of the country is this infamous traffic so rife as in the city of Washington. Here the public prisons are used as receptacles for slaves on sale; here are regular markets for the sale of slaves raised in the city, or brought from the surrounding counties; here the inhabitants, some of whom bask in the sunshine of national applause and honor, dispose of their enslaved victims to members of Congress and speculating slave-drivers; and here the moral sense of the citizens of the free States, called to the capitol of the nation by legislative duties, private business, or pleasure, is outraged by revolting scenes forced upon their observation that make humanity blush. Here, also, visitors from foreign countries witness shameful atrocities, and the perpetration of acts of revolting cruelty, by the powerful and brutal upon the weak and defenseless, that must inspire in their minds contempt and abhorrence for the glaring inconsistency of our principles and practice. If such infamous deeds must be practiced in this land, let them not be suffered in the city of Washington, on the national domain, under the national flag, in sight of the Congress of this republic, and in the presence of the representatives of foreign powers! Let the voice of an indignant people ring in the ears of their representatives until they resolve to wipe away from their own consciences and the escutcheon of the nation the foul reproach.

> Hear it, ye Senates! hear this truth sublime:
> *He who allows oppression shares the crime.*

During the late session of Congress, numerous petitions for the prohibition of the trade in human beings, now carried on in the District of Columbia, were presented from all parts of the free States. A "Ladies' Mammoth Petition against Slavery" has been commenced. This noble project will, we trust, be

* As previously stated, fifty slaves were recently taken from a slave-driver from Virginia, and he was thrown into prison.

prosecuted. A million-and-a-half of the female sex are in bondage, having no "legal protection for the heart's dearest ties," or *woman's* "sacred honor;" but with their husbands, sons, and brothers, are the doomed victims of a system that dwarfs the intellect, degrades the morals, and debases the entire being." We hope every woman in each of the free States will have the opportunity afforded of affixing her name to such a petition, and that they will continue their exertions in this, and every appropriate way, until the foul system of Slavery is forever banished from our country.

The odious character of American Slavery was portrayed by the late venerated JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in a letter addressed by him to Ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, not long before his death. "The existence of this moral pestilence," he remarked, "preying upon the human race—is the great evil now suffered by the race of men—an evil to be extinguished by the will of man himself, and by the operation of that will." Its baneful influence is exerted upon master as well as servant—upon the North as well as the South. Dr. Bushnell, in his remarks upon the separation of American politics from the moral law, speaks in indignant strains of the pernicious influence Slavery has exerted over the whole country.

"The moral deterioration of which I have complained here at the North has been visibly due, in no small degree, to the assimilating power of a southern influence. Slavery, as such, has no principle—it loosens all the old bad passions of human nature. Its law is human will. And the South has been steadily traveling northward, bringing its license with it, expelling the ancient time when merit reigned among us, and making us familiar with the lawless spirit of political adventure and rapacity. Our evil communications have corrupted our good manners, till now, the separation of politics from the fear of God and the constraints of moral obligation is become national in our people."

The following decided testimony is from a slaveholding State. The Synod of Kentucky stated in 1836:—

"This system licenses and produces great cruelty. . . . Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. . . . Even by those who hold to our communion. . . . Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed."

The Louisville (Ky.) *Examiner*, speaking of Slavery, says:—

"It is a wrong to the whole community; a wrong to republicanism; a wrong to religion. The tree is corrupt, and must produce corrupt fruit. . . . The truth is now pretty generally admitted, that a State

which cherishes the institution of Slavery must also be cursed with an ignorant white population. . . . It is an anomaly in this free country—a political and moral deformity."

The South, to some extent, feels the iniquity of the system, its shame and reproach. Mr. Hilliard, of Alabama, said in a speech in Congress, last winter, in alluding to the effect of Slavery in the southern States of this Union—that they are isolated, cut off from the sympathy of the Christian States of the world, by reason of that peculiar domestic institution. And Thomas Jefferson, "entitled to the credit of first publicly expressing anti-slavery sentiments in this country, and thereby the originator of the anti-slavery movement" here, depicted, in glowing colors, the corrupting influence of Slavery, both upon the master, his children, the slave, and the country. Slavery is now essentially what it was in his day, though slaves are elevated somewhat in intelligence, and have more knowledge and piety. Of course their sufferings must be greater now than formerly. Slave markets abound in the principal cities and towns at the South, where men, women and children are confined like cattle, and sold as cattle are sold in the shambles of New England. The perpetrators of such atrocities usually have their share of wo, produced by such a system, meted out to them even in this life. How tremendous their doom in the future!

It is a subject of congratulation, that on the motion of a Free Soil representative, the inhuman "Black Laws" of Ohio have been repealed, and a bill passed to establish schools for colored children. We regret that the legislators did not go a step further, and give the people of color a right to sit on juries when they paid them the high compliment, unintentionally, probably, of not extending to them the benefit of the poor laws. The repeal of the "Black Laws" is one of the results of the late Free Soil demonstration in Ohio. As usual in such cases, after having stubbornly resisted the repeal for the last twelve years, the Democrats were in at the death, taking the lead somewhat of the Whigs.

The bill before the Legislature of Wisconsin, directing the submission to the people of the question whether equal right of suffrage is to be extended to colored persons, has become a law. We hope the humane acts of the States of Ohio and Wisconsin will be imitated by all the free States, and that the time is near at hand when every disability will be removed from colored citizens, so that they can rise according to their capacities and moral worth. Then will the North be able to reprove the South with clean

hands, and the free colored people be able to demonstrate to the world their capabilities. When the *New York Observer* uses such language as the following, with reference to the people of color, it behooves abolitionists to act towards them as if they believed the statement true: "Go to the master," it says, and

"Tell him that his slave is his brother, made in the image of God his Father; an object of his Savior's most tender love; endowed like himself with an immortal soul; possessed with powers that will expand for ever; capable of being fitted here, in this momentary life, to enjoy ineffable glory with God in heaven, through endless ages;—and that such a being should be treated with all the consideration due his near relationship, his vast capacities, and his lofty destiny."*

While the action of many ecclesiastical bodies has been so favorable to the cause of freedom the year past, and the constituents of others, that yet hesitate to take decided ground for anti-slavery, are urging them to do their duty; and while so much has been done in Congress and in slave States in furtherance of the anti-slavery cause, it is gratifying to know that Legislatures, and the people generally of the free States, have demonstrated their determination not to consent to any enlargement of slave territory; while the number of those who contend for the constitutional extinction of Slavery has greatly increased. Nearly all the Legislatures of the free States have, during the last winter, with much unanimity, passed resolutions declaring Slavery to be a great national evil, protesting against its extension to New Mexico and California, and against the existence of it in any territory of the United States; stating that the establishment of Slavery would be "revolting to the spirit of the age;" that "the existence of prisons for the confinement, and marts for the sale, of slaves at the seat of the National Government, occasions deep regret and mortification;" and that "such prisons and marts ought forthwith to be abolished." The Legislature of the young State of Wisconsin has rebuked its Senator, Mr. Walker, and requested him to resign, because, in disobedience of instructions and in violation of his virtual pledges, he presented and voted for an amendment providing for a government in California and New Mexico which did not contain a provision forever prohibiting the introduction of Slavery into said territories.

William H. Seward, Ex-Governor of the State of New

* Governor Briggs, of Massachusetts, has recently commissioned a young colored lawyer in Boston a Justice of the Peace.

York, has been elected Senator in Congress. His past eminent services in behalf of Freedom are gratefully remembered by the anti-slavery people of the country; and it is earnestly hoped that he will not be induced to forfeit the fair renown he has achieved by sacrificing to party what was meant for mankind. SALMON P. CHASE, an outspoken abolitionist and a man of commanding talents, succeeds in the Senate one of the most inflexible opponents of the Anti-Slavery cause. Other accessions to the cause of Liberty have been made in the election of members of the national legislature, and it is believed that the next Congress will contain a much larger array of Free Soil and Anti-Slavery members than any preceding one for many years. The voice of the people will be heard in the Capitol, not only from the lips of new members who are pledged to the cause of Freedom, but from those also who have hitherto sunk the patriot in the partisan; who have sought to gain popularity by riding on the wave of pro-slavery sentiment, and to secure the emoluments and honors of pro-slavery administrations by succumbing to the oligarchy of the South. The voice of Providence, also, will not be unheeded! The Supreme Ruler of nations has signally overruled the wickedness of slaveholding politicians for the furtherance of the Anti-Slavery cause. "The annexation of Texas by the South, with a view of extending, perpetuating and strengthening the peculiar institution," which the people of the North contemplated with so much disfavor, because of its evident design, has been the instrument, in the hands of an all-wise Providence, to open the eyes of the freemen of the Republic to the wickedness of southern Slavery.

Notwithstanding the people of this country have seen fit once more to elect as Chief Magistrate of the nation a slaveholder, who has selected a cabinet composed of slaveholders and conservators, the anti-slavery sentiment of the country is stronger than it has been since the days of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson; and as General Taylor has proposed the examples of the early presidents as "models" for his own guidance in the administration of the government, it is hoped that he will avow the anti-slavery principles of those illustrious predecessors, and *act them out* as fully and as faithfully as they would have done if their lives had been prolonged to the present day. Should he however, yield himself to the control of a waning aristocracy of slaveholders, instead of so conducting as to merit the approving judgment of posterity, he will not be numbered among those Chief Magistrates of our republic whose names will be associated in history with the "early presidents," but with those

who, to reward partisans and secure temporary applause, sacrificed the claims of humanity and the best interests of their country. Our reliance, however, is, under God, in the awakened feeling of the people, in the consequent better action of Congress, in the anti-slavery sentiment springing up in the slave States, and in the rapidly multiplied proofs of the ruin attendant upon slaveholding communities contrasted with the prosperity of the free States.

An unusual degree of sympathy has been manifested, in this city and in many other places, for fugitives from the southern prison-houses on their way to asylums where they will be protected from the tyranny, lust and avarice of their infuriated masters. Public meetings have been held, where some of these unoffending and late terrified fellow-citizens have had an opportunity to recite their wrongs in the hearing of an indignant people. The effect has been to erase from the minds of Northerners the notion that the Constitution forbids efforts to screen the fugitive, to supply his necessities, or aid in his escape. The law of God and the dictates of humanity are paramount to the slave code or even the Constitution of the country. We must obey God rather than man. At the South, "Committees of Vigilance" are formed to protect the slaveholder from the fugitive page that unfolds the atrocity of Slavery,* or the living epistle that speaks a word of advice to its victims; and at the North, "Vigilance Committees" are multiplying to defend the people of color from the kidnapper who prowls about our cities in quest of *human game;* and to shield the poor fugitives who rush into our dwellings, faint and weary, in hot haste to escape from human bloodhounds. Many of our judges are throwing the ægis of the law over persons arrested for the crime of having a colored skin, and doing themselves great honor by liberal interpretations of statutory provisions in relation to colored persons; and respectable attorneys are quick to volunteer in their defense and dedicate their talents to the cause of liberty. A few years since, such was the blind reverence paid to traditionary interpretations of the Constitution and laws against natural justice and the Biblical code, and such was the subserviency of

* Even newspapers are not exempted from the censorship of the press! A postmaster in Virginia, has lately refused to deliver to a subscriber the "Cincinnati Globe," a Free Soil paper, as such papers, he alledges, are forbidden to be circulated in the South. Happy the constituents of Mr. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, in whose district there is not a single newspaper press, according to his own declaration upon the floor of Congress! Happy the itinerant preacher who said, in a Western State, he had occasion to be thankful that he *did not own a dictionary!*

our magistrates to the slave oligarchy of the South, that persons *accused* of being slaves were summarily surrendered and hurried to the southern prison-houses, many of them born of free parents, native citizens of free States. Anti-slavery truth has, however, been so widely sown, and the public mind has become so much enlightened, that it is now no easy matter to remove a free colored person into bondage, or to reclaim a slave who has tasted the sweets of liberty.

Canada has become the asylum of a large number of slaves, who have fled from the southern States. Their number is supposed to be nearly twenty thousand. Here they enjoy the rights of free subjects of Queen Victoria. The slaveholders of the United States are continually accusing England of having introduced Slavery into their country. The charge is true. But England, having repented, confessed her sin before the world, and made all the restitution in her power, says to America, GO AND DO LIKEWISE. Rev. Edward Smith, of Ohio, who has been on a tour in Canada, and whose testimony is entirely reliable, says—

"I promised to give some particulars showing the thrifty condition of the self-emancipated slaves. . . . . I did not see a colored person, except in one instance, about a tavern. They are engaged, for the most part, in what are considered honorable employments. . . . They are more respected in Canada than in the States, because they are engaged in more respectable occupations. . . . . Great injustice has been done this people by representations made in the States, or sent to them. They have been represented as a lazy, poor, starving community, for whom donations in clothing, &c., must be made, and sent annually to keep them from suffering. They are deeply afflicted and grieved with these representations; and in their annual convention at Drummondsville, passed a resolution requesting their friends in the States to send no more clothing to Canada, except for the new comers and the schools. They said they did not want any; they had taken care of themselves, and their masters to boot in slavery; and in such a country as Canada they could take care of themselves well. They did not wish to be considered objects of charity, and felt insulted to be so represented. . . . I conversed with a number of white gentlemen of good standing and wealth, relative to the fugitives, whose testimony was, that for the first four or five years of their residence in Canada, they were thriftless, but after that time they became industrious and good citizens. . . . . I saw quite a number who had pretty good farms, and everything necessary for life and comfort around them. Some are worth hundreds, and others thousands of dollars. . . . . They are destined in the country to which they have fled, to become just what the people of that country are, not what they are now, but what they will be when the resources of that great country become fully developed—a wealthy, learned, influential and

highly civilized community. . . . . The colored man can take rank and place with his white brother, and the fugitives may become a part of the community, and share their part of its benefits."

There are several missionaries and teachers in Canada from the States, devoting their time and talents to the instruction of the colored population, with the most disinterested zeal, and with great success. They teach not only the elements of an English education, but instruct the inexperienced in agriculture and the mechanic arts.

The people of color in the free States are accomplishing, not so much as they might, but a good deal, for their own elevation and improvement. Among them are men of intellectual, moral and religious attainments, who would do honor to any people. Of this number some are fugitives from Slavery. Last autumn a National Convention of the colored people was held at Cleveland, Ohio. The doors of the public buildings were thrown open for its use and accommodation. An able address to the colored people of the United States was adopted, on the subject of their mutual improvement and social elevation, containing excellent advice and suggestions. The address speaks of the depressing effect of the doctrine that it is impossible for colored men to rise in this country, and of the necessity of arousing from their slumber; it treats of their gradually improving condition; of the mighty change the last ten years have witnessed in the estimation with which they, as a people, are regarded, both in this and other lands. It advises that a large number acquire mechanic trades, and turn their attention to agriculture; that they take and read newspapers and books, improve their minds, and in all proper ways so elevate themselves as to put to shame their traducers and opposers. Many of the citizens attended the sessions of this Convention, and it was the opinion of both the friends and opponents of the people of color, that the speeches and proceedings were equal to those of any Convention ever held in the place.

Honorable mention should be made of the munificent appropriations of land to the people of color, of this State, by Gerrit Smith, and of the readiness with which many of those who have partaken of his bounty have undertaken the cultivation of their farms. Also of the self-denying and meritorious labors of the managers of the Colored Orphan Asylum of New York, where about 200 children are supported and educated, until they arrive at the age of twelve, when they are indentured. Other individuals, and other associations who contribute to the welfare of the people of color, in various parts of the country, might be

mentioned. To all who extend the helping hand to this class of our fellow-men, we doubt not the declaration of the Redeemer will apply—"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

The use of Free Labor Produce is encouraged in this country, as well as in England, especially by some true-hearted members of the Society of Friends. In this city a young merchant, "possessing the requisite qualifications, and the means for conducting a large mercantile or other wealth-accumulating concern, has been willing, primarily for the sake of the good cause, to embark in the business." There are Free Labor stores in other cities. The *Non-Slaveholder*, published in Philadelphia, with the motto, "Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own," advocates the use of free produce with zeal and ability. It has been ascertained, by special agencies, that cotton is cultivated at the South to a much greater extent than was supposed, by free labor. Cotton is grown in the West Indies, and the fibre is said to be generally long, fine, and strong—suitable for muslins. A Barbadoes paper says, "This island produces, or can produce, with care, a cotton scarcely inferior to the best American growth; that it would be as profitable as sugar in a great number of cases, we have not the smallest doubt;" and it is added, "cotton may be considered one of the staple products of South Africa." Arrangements have been made in Manchester, England, with both spinners and manufacturers, to use free labor cotton. We are glad to see that in this country and in England attention is more and more given to this subject, being fully persuaded that the disuse of slave-labor produce would be attended with beneficial results, both in slave and free States.

It is useful sometimes to recur to the spirit of older times, and to derive from the example of predecessors principles of action. It would be well if our southern fellow-citizens would look back upon the doings of their forefathers, and see what they did for the benefit of the colored people, and emulate their example. They will find that the sages of revolutionary memory never dreamed that Slavery, in the nineteenth century, would become the corner stone of our political edifice, or that the relation of master and slave would approach nearer to genuine republicanism than does the relation of employer and laborer at the North. They will find that the members of the Continental Congress, on the 18th of October, 1779, adopted the following agreement; and that it was signed by its President and by members in all the States represented, including

4 from Delaware, 4 from Maryland, 6 from Virginia, 3 from North Carolina, and 5 from South Carolina:

"We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, *nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.*"

Were the above to be signed by the members of an American Congress at the present day, and the agreement adhered to, an end would be put to the domestic slave-trade at once in this land, and northern ship-owners and merchants would be clear from the guilt of participating in the miseries and atrocities of Slavery. Until this be done, the remark of Judge McLean, in his recent letter to C. H. Morse, will hold good: "Our Government is not now what it professes to be; much less is it what its framers intended it should be." It is proposed to have a mass Convention of the friends of freedom and Free Soil, to be held on the 13th day of July, 1849, in commemoration of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, which conferred upon the soil of the North-western Territory—an area now composing five States, with an aggregate population of four millions and a half of freemen—"perpetual immunity from the curse of Slavery, and consecrated it as the heritage of freemen for ever." It is a grand idea. We could wish that the descendants of the southern sages who signed the agreement of the Continental Congress above recited would also attend, and rejoice with northern freemen and patriots in the re-adoption of the principles to which their common ancestry stood pledged. They would be able to institute comparisons between the condition of the slave and free States, which would shed much light upon the institutions which bless or curse their respective States. They would see how "the powers and agencies of nature, the discoveries of science, and the inventions of genius," are summoned to the aid of agriculturists, mechanics, scientific and literary men, in one portion of the Union; and in the other they might contemplate the gloomy picture of the ultimate effect of Slavery on all classes, drawn by Ex-Governor McDowell, of Va., in the speech which he recently delivered in Congress.

Having occupied so much space with matters relating more immediately to this country, we shall be able to devote but a small share of attention to a narration of what has been effected during the past year, for the downfall of the slave-trade and

the extinction of Slavery, in other nations. We rejoice to know, by correspondence and a perusal of the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter," that the Committee have, with unremitted zeal and ability, prosecuted the great objects contemplated by their Association. They appear to watch every movement of their own Government, and the Governments of foreign countries, with reference to their bearing upon the emancipated and the enslaved, with a jealous eye; and when necessary, to address their own Government, and through the appropriate channels, other Governments, in defense of the slave and the down-trodden.

We find that the Committee addressed Lord Grey in opposition to the resolutions of the Legislative Assembly at Trinidad tending to coerce the labor of immigrants in that colony; that a deputation of the Society waited upon Lord Palmerston, and presented a most able and powerful address on the subject of the slave-trade and its remedy. They state—

"That the slave-trade at the present time is equal in extent to what it was during the seven years which preceded its legal abolition by Great Britain—the export of slaves from Africa then averaging 85,000 per annum; that the number in 1847 was no less than 84,356; that in 1848 the slave-trade has been in a state of unusual activity and vigor; and that the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847 scarcely exceeds four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa during these years, though the expenditure connected with their employment is not less than £650,000 sterling per annum (three and a quarter millions of dollars)."

The Committee urge the Government to renew the demand of 1840, "in terms that cannot be mistaken or evaded," for the liberation from Slavery of all negroes introduced into the Spanish colonies since the 30th of October, 1820, and to apply the same principle to Brazil, in relation to all Africans imported into that country since the 7th of November, 1831; and in case the Spanish and Brazilian Governments will not observe the treaties entered into with England, then to demand of Spain the instant repayment of the £400,000, and interest thereon, paid to her in 1817, as an indemnity for the abandonment of the slave-trade, and lay before Parliament a bill for the purpose of excluding the produce of the Spanish and Brazilian colonies from the British markets until such time as Slavery itself shall be abolished herein. The Legislatures of Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbadoes have taken up this question with earnestness and zeal.

The cruising system is in great disfavor with the Anti-Slavery body in England and France. Recent accounts from Africa state that fast-sailing vessels are employed, in which the victims are more crowded than formerly; and steamers are now used. The consequence is, that there is more suffering and fewer captures. Only one vessel in fifteen is captured. The crews of the cruising ships are doomed to a life worse almost than Slavery itself. Slaves are said to be in abundance in all the slaving haunts in the Bight; the trade is beginning again in the lee Bights; the cruising appears to stimulate the traders to increased exertions; six hundred slaves were lately murdered by the chiefs at Palma, who were unable to dispose of them.

In the French National Assembly M. Billaelt presented the estimate for 3,000,000 francs for the service of the West African squadron. The whole expense amounted to nearly ten millions. The Convention concluded with the British Government on the 29th of May, 1845, bound France to keep twenty-six cruisers on the coast of Africa. It was shown in debate that the system had not only proved inefficacious to repress the slave-trade, but it had been proved that it was the cause of more negroes being shipped. As a humane measure, it was a perfect nullity.

The only complete remedy of the slave-trade is, as before stated, in the extinction of Slavery—the market which the slaves supply. But it can be lessened by promoting a lawful commerce among the African tribes, and especially by the influence of Christianity. The religion that is represented by intoxicating liquors, and by powder and shot, will ever have a deleterious effect. The late Rev. William Raymond, of the Kaw-Mendi Mission, who inculcated in theory and practice the temperance and peaceful principles of the gospel, soon learned the secret of lessening the slave-trade among the African tribes. That mission has effected more than a naval squadron in repressing the trade, and in preventing wars which occasion it.

The Committee addressed the people of Hayti, December 1st, 1848, presenting to them a brief history of emancipation, recommending to their consideration several important matters, and inviting them to send the products of the island to British markets, which are now open to them.

The indefatigable Secretary of the Society, during the winter, held a series of meetings in the principal towns of the kingdom, with a view to arouse the people to a consideration of the enormities of the slave-trade, and to bring out such an energetic expression of public sentiment and feeling respecting the fla-

grant violations of treaties with England, on the part of foreign powers, and the injurious effects of the British Sugar Act, as would induce the British Government to demand of these powers the liberation of all Africans from Slavery who have been illegally introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and bring about a repeal of the act that so greatly stimulates the slave-trade. These meetings were well attended, and it is believed that the results will be most beneficial.

The women of Great Britain are affixing their signatures to a memorial to the Queen, on the above subject. In times past they have done their part in bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade and the extinction of Slavery, and have set an example to their sex throughout Christendom, that has had the most happy effect.

The newspapers of Brazil even speak in condemnation of the system of Slavery, and intimate that the interest of the country would be promoted by its abolition. The following are extracts :—

"If we except five or six individuals who possess numerous slaves who cost them nothing, not one proprietor of land exists in Brazil who is unaware of the disadvantages accruing from the employment of slaves in agriculture. . . . . So general is the knowledge of the disadvantage of cultivation with slave labor, that estates are daily offered for sale. . . . . The cultivation of lands being handed over to the slaves, white men fancy it degrading to employ themselves in that way;—thus the formation of small agricultural properties is prevented—the development of public wealth and population is impeded, and men are condemned to idleness and celibacy, who would be heads of families and proprietors, if Slavery did not exist in Brazil. . . . . If the introduction of slaves is prejudicial to the interests of agriculture, what even apparent motive can there be alledged for the protection or toleration of it, seeing that it destroys the fortunes of individuals, and threatens the public with endless calamities? . . . . The extinction of domestic Slavery is, perhaps, the most vital necessity of the empire. . . . . If we should show that their (the planters) true interests call for free labor, the first and most important step in this patriotic undertaking will have been taken. . . . . Those who, carried away by a vile interest, think to Africanize America, to work her ruin, are mistaken. . . . . The tears of the slave fertilize the soil, and his sighs mount to heaven, and cry for vengeance."

In a letter from Rio de Janeiro, dated December last, it is said :—

"The slave-trade is more flourishing than ever. All parts of the coast between this and Bahia are open to their disembarkation. Some 1,400 were landed from a steamer a few weeks since, not ten

leagues to the eastward of this harbor. A steamer of large dimensions, intended to carry out 2,000 slaves, is building on the Braganza side. It is a fact, that at present, in Rio, a young healthy boy of thirteen or fourteen, and well grown, can be purchased for 350 dollars, while within the last two years from 700 to 800 dollars were paid for the same as a domestic servant, on the day he was imported. Brazil says, 'slaves we will have,' and Brazil does have a constant and plentiful supply of them. It is in vain to blink this fact. The trade is carried on by the merchants, and by the government of the Brazilian Empire; and an American on the coast writes: 'Many of our own people are engaged in this detestable business. . . . . Yes, this damnable traffic in human souls, the details of which, in all its horrors, would actually make your life-blood curdle in your veins, is carried on with the most perfect impunity, under the stars and stripes —the ensign of liberty and human rights—but whose broad folds are prostituted to the base purpose of shielding and protecting the inhuman tyranny, in daily enacting the most revolting of human crimes. . . . . American vessels engaged in this trade outnumbe the vessels of all other nations put together, and are chartered at much higher prices by slave-dealers, as they are not subject to the right of search by the British. . . . . Fears are entertained of systematic revolts throughout the provinces."

There is no desire on the part of the white inhabitants of the British West India islands to return to the old system. In a letter from the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, to Mr. Peter Borthwick, dated Kingston, Jamaica, August 21st, 1848, he says:—

"Had the remotest thought now dwelt in the bosom of any of us, that it was either desirable or practicable to restore Slavery, such a thought would have been communicated to you by some, at any rate, of the many with whom you conversed on the subject of emancipation during your visit to Jamaica. The Chamber appeals to you with confidence, to bear out its declaration, that so far from entertaining such opinions, there is not an individual in Jamaica who has either desired such a step, or who would consent to it for a moment."

The House of Assembly, in their reply to the speech of the Governor, say—

"There is no man in this island, or a British subject anywhere, so insane, or so divested of just and moral feeling, as to wish to retrace those steps which have led to the banishment of Slavery for ever from British soil. We, one and all, repudiate even the thought; and, on behalf of our constituents, declare, unequivocally, our belief that no such sentiment, even by stealth, has penetrated the heart of any single inhabitant of Jamaica."

In a letter published in the New York *Evening Post*, dated

Havana, January 7, 1849, the writer of which is said to be "a gentleman on whose statements of facts implicit reliance may be placed," it is stated—

"I was present a few days ago at a conversation between two large sugar-planters and slaveholders of this island, Cuba; one of whom was relating to the other the substance of some communications recently received by him, from a friend of his in Jamaica, an English planter, whose arrival he shortly expected on a visit to Cuba. The latter was described as a highly intelligent man, a first-rate planter, and the proprietor of two sugar estates in Jamaica. This gentleman pronounced wholly untrue the common impression that the emancipation was a disastrous measure, and fatal to the proprietors. Its first effects had indeed been such, but chiefly through the fault of the planters themselves, and the wasteful and bad methods of management which were incident to the system of slave labor, and which remained after the emancipation of the slaves; but now it was all working out to his entire satisfaction. The inability to procure the amount of labor required for the culture and manufacture of the sugar (which processes, you know, are united in the same hands—the planter employing extensive and costly machinery to manufacture his sugar on the spot where he grows the cane) had forced them to the adoption of labor-saving improvements and economies; and with the aid of these, all the labor needed could be obtained from the negroes for moderate wages, better in quality and cheaper in expense to the planter than under the old system of Slavery."

The number of slave-owners in Cuba is smaller in proportion to the population than even in our southern States, the slaves being, in large masses, owned by a very wealthy few, and being, for the most part, confined to a limited portion of the island. A southerner, for a number of years resident there, and himself a full-blooded South Carolinian, acknowledges, that in general intercourse he has found twenty "abolitionists" for one to be found in our own slave States. The Spanish government has done nothing towards effecting an annexation to the United States. It is probably too late in the day for the successful consummation of projects, either for the annexation of slave territory or islands to this country, or the extension of the system on this continent.

The Governor of Barbadoes said, in his speech, January 30th:—

"I congratulate you on the prospects of an abundant harvest, for which, under Providence, you are indebted to the coöperative industry of all classes, and their cheerful submission to the privations which circumstances had imposed upon them. The habits of self-reliance, thus engendered, have been productive of their ordinary effects. It

was a wise determination, looking to the means of subsistence for so large a population, to encourage the growth of provisions; and the general appearance of the island, clothed with luxuriant cane crops, and interspersed with every variety of tropical vegetable, indicates the true source of the prosperity of an agricultural community; and I trust that this change in the rural economy of the country will be permanent."

The introduction of African laborers into Jamaica, and their treatment there, and in other colonies, are subjects of just complaint. "To call them immigrants would be mockery: they are slaves; they are fed, and clothed, and flogged as SLAVES! And as slaves are they regarded by the people." To starvation is added the lash, adds the Reporter. We trust that our brethren, the English abolitionists, will not desist in their opposition to this vile system until it shall be put down for ever. It always appeared to us a renewal of the slave-trade in effect, and the facts recently disclosed ought to put the government of Great Britain to the blush for having sanctioned it a single day.

The New York *Sun* stated, some time since, that abolition in the Bermudas had a crushing effect on the prosperity of the islands. The truth of this statement is denied, says the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, on the testimony of the most reliable witnesses of a recent date. Their testimony relates to the industry, moral character, and educational advancement of the people. The Receiver-General in reply to the question, "Is it your opinion that the emancipation has in any way impeded the progress of Bermuda?" answered, "Certainly not." Hon. B. Smith, a member of the Council, says, "The colored population have greatly improved since the abolition of Slavery, and although great sacrifices were made at the time, I am sure that not one of the slave-owners has regretted the change." Such are the answers to the assertions of the pro-slavery presses of the United States with reference to West India emancipation.

At a public meeting, held at Trinidad, August 1st, 1848, to commemorate the abolition of Slavery in the colonies, resolutions were passed noticing with special pleasure its abolition throughout the British and other West India colonies; "as an act of benevolence and justice;" the "amazing change of sentiment which has of late been expressed by a large portion of the proprietary body in reference to Slavery;" and expressing a hope that the day is not distant "when the subjects of every other country shall be delivered from a system fraught with so many

evils to all classes, and unite with us to celebrate universal emancipation."

In the National Assembly of France, the abolition of Slavery throughout every part of the French territories and dependencies abroad was carried the 18th of September, without opposition. The decree of the Provisional Government was thus affirmed, and from henceforth, all persons born within the limits of the republic, or domiciled therein, are free. What a lesson to our own country! The minister of finance warmly opposed the amount of indemnity as well as the mode of payment. The final decision of the Assembly has not yet been taken. We are glad to learn that the emancipated slaves have become possessed of the elective franchise, that five colored citizens have been elected to the National Assembly from Martinique, and have taken their seats, being received with courtesy and kindness by their colleagues.*

While the French Provisional Government were considering the steps necessary to be taken for emancipation, a violent ferment took place in the colonies. The proprietors complained bitterly, and the slaves become more and more impatient. The enslaved asked that their chains should be broken, not gradually, but at once. We give the following narration by a correspondent of the New York Observer:

"At Martinique, a planter, named *Leon Duchamp*, had placed four soldiers on his plantation with orders to arrest one of his slaves, who was seized and dragged to prison. All his fellow-slaves of the neighboring plantations quitted their work, and assembled at the prison doors, crying out: 'Release the prisoner, release the prisoner!' A military force was called out. The colored men also took arms. A magistrate ordered the negro to be set at liberty. His comrades carried him off in triumph. All this happened the 22d May, at St. Peter. Some hours after, the rumor ran that the whites, to the number of 200, had formed an armed body in a house in the city, and a colored man having entered to make inquiry was killed with a musket-shot. Then the popular rage knew no bounds. The house was besieged, attacked, set on fire, and thirty to thirty-five persons were consumed in the flames. . . . The municipal council invited the governor to proclaim immediate emancipation, without waiting for news from France. *This was the only means to prevent bloodshed.* May 23d the great measure of emancipation was proclaimed. Public tranquility was soon restored. The emancipated exulted; they planted liberty-poles, and made triumphant processions. Since then, order has not been disturbed in Martinique."

The Reporter, of April, 1849, states:

* Two of them are completely black, one having been formerly a slave.

"The latest accounts received from Martinique and Guadaloupe represent the existence of the greatest tranquility; work having been resumed in a sufficiently satisfactory manner, especially at Guadaloupe. The sugar harvest is considered favorable."

The King of Denmark has fully confirmed the proclamation of Governor Von Scholten, giving complete emancipation to all slaves within the Danish dominions; a consummation which was welcomed with great delight by the emancipated in the islands of Santa Cruz, St. Thomas and St. John. The government had fixed the year 1859 as the period of complete emancipation, but on account of the impatience of the slaves it was found utterly impossible to delay it. "It is to be deplored," says the British Reporter, "that the transition from Slavery to freedom has not been accomplished without bloodshed, but the guilt which has marred the glory of this great event is clearly traceable to the oppressors, and not to the oppressed." Rev. A. A. Livermore, of Keene, N. H., writes from Santa Cruz, Dec. 6th, 1848, and confirms this statement. He says, "The experiment has convinced the people here that the more schools, light, religion, the blacks have, even in Slavery, the better prepared they will be for freedom, and the less outrage they will commit when they become free, whether voluntarily or involuntarily."

Sweden, France, and Denmark, says the British Reporter, having each abolished Slavery in their several colonies in the West Indies and South America, the whole of the West Indies, with the exception of the small islands possessed by Holland, and the colonies belonging to Spain in the Gulf of Mexico, are free. And it adds:

"Nor is this all. In addition to French Guiana, and Cayenne, which are now free, it is satisfactory to know that the several South American republics have made provision, by express laws, for the abolition of Slavery. Holland, it is believed, will follow the example. Portugal has also given assurances that Slavery, as well as the slave-trade, shall be abolished throughout her East Indian and African possessions. France has also decreed the abolition of Slavery in every form in her African settlements. The Bey of Tunis has liberated all his subjects from bondage. The Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia have each adopted measures for the suppression of the slave-trade; and in the North of Europe, it may be added, that millions of serfs have been set free. To the United States, Brazil and Spain belong the bad pre-eminence of holding nearly seven milions of Africans, or their descendants, in abject Slavery; and to the two latter powers the enormous guilt of perpetuating the foreign African slave-trade."

The Brazilians begin to be ashamed of the position they occupy, as one of the pro-slavery *trio*, and Spain, it would seem, cannot long resist the example of the "barbarian" Bey of Tunis. Should both these powers abolish Slavery before the United States—as it is probable they will—to our own country alone will belong the "bad pre-eminence" of being the only nation under heaven—barbarian, civilized or Christian—that holds any portion of its inhabitants in Slavery. In view of our present association with Spain and Brazil, in this nefarious business, and of the probable state of things, what citizen of the United States—worthy of the name—does not blush for his country!

But we must bring this annual review to a close. As a Committee we have felt our responsibilities and the magnitude of the work. We have seen, also, with profound gratitude the indications of increased Anti-Slavery sentiment and action in our country. The religious press is gradually emancipating itself from ignoble servitude; ministers of the gospel are beginning to be valiant for the truth; the instructors in our colleges and theological seminaries are opening their eyes to the demands of the age; missionary and other great national societies are feeling the pressure which impels them forward in the march of Anti-Slavery reform; political men have learned that office and honor attend upon the advocates of freedom as well as the defenders of Slavery; the community is investigating the absorbing subject of the times, distinguishing between factions of disunionists and the rational advocates of emancipation; and politicians and Christians in slaveholding States are discussing the evils of Slavery, contending for freedom in the new territories, for the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and urging the policy and duty of emancipation.

Notwithstanding these encouraging facts, we are constrained, in view of the continued apathy or opposition of large portions of the people in the northern States, of ministers of the gospel and professing Christians even, to mourn and weep. But we will not despair. With increased confidence in the correctness of abolitionism, and rejoicing, with the departed Leggett, that we are abolitionists; with a steadfast belief that truth will eventually overcome error and disarm prejudice; with a firm reliance on Divine aid, we avow our solemn purpose to continue united with our coadjutors in other countries, if life be spared, in waging this conflict with the Moloch of Slavery, until, by the help of God, he shall be vanquished in our land and throughout the world.

For the Executive Committee,

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Cor. Sec.*

APPENDIX.

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

THE correspondent of the *New York Observer* gives, in the paper of May 19th, an interesting sketch of the proceedings in the Frankfort Convention. The meeting consisted of about 160 members from twenty-six of the wealthiest and largest slave-holding counties. It was composed of men of every class and profession, of every religious persuasion and shade of political opinion. Nine tenths of the Convention were slaveholders. "John Breckenridge, Attorney-General to Mr. Jefferson's administration, and George Nicholas, a distinguished member of the bar, the two leading statesmen then in Kentucky, were the founders of Slavery in Kentucky." Chancellor Nicholas and Rev. Messrs. R. J. Breckenridge and W. L. Breckenridge—sons of these men—are now among the most conspicuous men in Kentucky, in the effort to abolish it.

"Slavery is a doomed institution in Kentucky." . . . "Its fate in Kentucky dooms it in the whole South." . . . "The politicians of both parties are against emancipation." The question was put in the Convention to R. J. Breckenridge, "Would you be willing to sacrifice your political principles to carry emancipation?" "I CAN and I WILL" was the instant and unhesitating reply.

"What am I expected," said Mr. Breckenridge, "to sacrifice to my political feelings and party? The personal freedom of two hundred thousand of my fellow-beings, and their countless posterity for ever; their right to the free use of their own bodies and of their own souls; their right to the use of the proceeds of their labor and the sweat of their brows; and the right of teaching and of being taught God's holy Word. What kind of a state of society would that be, Mr. President, in which *stealing* was authorized by law, in which the *marriage* relation was abolished by law, in which no man had any wife in particular, and no woman had any husband in particular, where universal concubinage prevailed, and no child knew his own father, and no father knew his own child? *It would be a hell upon earth.* THAT, SIR, IS NEGRO SLAVERY."

The Convention were of opinion that emancipationists should

not labor for a *present plan*, to be incorporated into the new Constitution in October, but should content themselves with an article empowering the people to effect emancipation whenever they desired it, or as soon as a majority could be obtained favorable to it.

The correspondent of the Observer is an inveterate colonizationist, and he says, with reference to emancipation in Kentucky, "Colonization is an essential feature in our plan." He, of course, disparages the efforts of northern abolitionists, and eulogizes the spirit exhibited on the subject of Slavery by the New York Observer for the last twenty years! We have abundant evidence that the Anti-Slavery agitation at the North has brought about the present state of things in Kentucky, but the pride of slaveholders who are pricked in their consciences, and of their northern allies, will not allow them to acknowledge it.

AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

At the business meeting of the Society, held in New York, May 10th, the following preamble and resolutions, moved by Rev. N. Colver, were passed:

Whereas representations have been made in various places that this Society is in some way in fraternal connection with American Slavery, therefore,

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed, to inquire whether in the transactions of the past year, or in any of the present relations of the Society, any fellowship or sanction of Slavery may be justly implied.

Report of Committee on Slavery.

The Committee appointed to investigate the alledged relation of the American Baptist Home Mission Society to Slavery, beg leave to present the following as their Report: That they have carefully examined the books of the Society, and fully interrogated the Corresponding Secretary and others, members of the Board, in relation to the appointments made by the Board, stations occupied by missionaries, and moneys received into the treasury, and that the following facts have been elicited by their inquiries:

1. That no funds known or suspected to be the avails of Slavery have been received into the treasury of the Society since the adoption of the new Constitution in 1846.

2. Since that time no slaveholder has been employed by the Board as a missionary.

3. No missionary employed by the Society since the adoption of the new Constitution has been known to administer the ordinances of the gospel in a slaveholding church.

At the present time, there is no missionary in any slave State, under the appointment of the Board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, except one in Delaware, and he is mainly supported by the church in Wilmington, under the pastoral care of Rev. Morgan J. Rhees, which fact is a sufficient guaranty as to the character of the aforementioned missionary.

Your Committee, in conclusion, would say that so far as they are able to ascertain, there is no relation or action of the Society, which involves directly or indirectly the countenance and fellowship of Slavery.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHANIEL COLVER, Chairman.

"Is it possible," asks the *New York Observer*, "that any considerable portion of the Baptist denomination at the North demands that their missionary societies shall not receive contributions from slaveholders! shall not allow their missionaries to administer the ordinances of the gospel in slaveholding churches! shall not allow their missionaries to labor in a slaveholding State!" It *is* possible—thanks to God.

LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

CHARLES SUMNER in his Oration before the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society of Union College, New York, on the Law of Human Progress, after quoting the saying of Bishop Latimer, "the devil is the most diligentest bishop and preacher in all England," says, "surely it might be said with equal truth—and none will question it—that he is the busiest and most offensive conservative."

"Time would fail me to dwell on the ample illustrations of this influence. One world-renowned example shall suffice. The early efforts in England for the overthrow of the gigantic crime of the slave-trade were encountered by an enmity, which seemed to partake of the bad passions of the crime itself. In Liverpool, the excited slave-traders threatened to throw Clarkson into the sea. But the heart of the nation was gradually touched, until at last the people of England demanded the abolition of this foul traffic.

* * * * * *

"Let us then be of good cheer. From the great Law of Progress we may at once derive our duties and our encouragements. Humanity has ever advanced, urged by the instincts and necessities implanted by God—thwarted sometimes by obstacles, which have caused it for a time,—a moment only, in the immensity of ages,—to deviate from its true line, or to seem to retreat—but still ever onward. At last we know the law of this movement; we fasten our eyes upon that star

unobserved in the earlier ages, which lights the way to the future, opening into vistas of infinite variety and extension. Amidst the disappointments which may attend individual exertions, amidst the universal agitations which now surround us, let us recognize this law, let us follow this star—confident that whatever is just, whatever is humane, whatever is good, whatever is true, according to an immutable ordinance of Providence, in the golden light of the future, must prevail. With this faith, let us place our hands, as those of little children, in the great hand of God. He will ever guide and sustain us—through pains and perils it may be—in the path of progress.

* * * * * *

"And, finally, let a confidence in the progress of our race be, under God, our constant faith. Let the sentiment of loyalty, earth-born, which once lavished itself on king or emperor, give place to that other sentiment, heaven-born, of devotion to humanity. Let loyalty to one man be exchanged for love to man. And be it our privilege to extend these sacred influences throughout the land. So shall we open to our country new fields of peaceful victories, which shall not want the sympathies and gratulations of the good citizen, or the praises of the just historian. Go forth, then, my country, "conquering and to conquer," not by brutish violence; not by force of arms; not, oh! not on dishonest fields of blood; but in the majesty of Peace, of Justice, of Freedom, by the irresistible might of Christian Institutions."

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.

THE sale of 500,000 acres of land in the State of Mississippi, donated to the State for the purposes of internal improvements, which was to have taken place on January 1st, at Jacksonville, has turned out a complete failure. Only a little over 200 acres were bid in at a minimum price of six dollars per acre. This is a case in point to show the effect of Slavery upon a State. These are choice lands, and in a free State such lands, as well situated, would have readily sold at high prices, but Slavery paralyzes every thing like progress.

Arkansas, a year or two since, offered some fine lands for nothing to any one who would settle upon them, but the offer has not been accepted to any extent. "Thus we see," says the *Washington Patriot*, "that even gratuities will not induce men to settle in a slave State."

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the Declaration of American Independence asserts, that it is a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas this political axiom is based upon the Holy Scriptures, which declare that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth," and which require all mankind to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas nearly three millions of the people of this country are held in Slavery by their fellow-countrymen; and whereas the practice of buying and selling human beings prevails to an alarming extent; and whereas every man, irrespective of color, is entitled to equality of rights on the soil of his birth and residence; and whereas the prejudice against color, which exists in this country, is sinful in the sight of God, and should be immediately repented of; and whereas no scheme of expatriation should be countenanced by any friend of man or God; and whereas we owe it to the oppressed, to oppressors, to our country, to the world, and to GOD, to do all that is right and lawfully in our power, to bring about the extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade; we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the following CONSTITUTION:—

ARTICLE I.

The name of this Association shall be the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society shall be the entire extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade; and the equal security, protection, and improvement of the people of color.

ARTICLE III.

The following are the fundamental principles of this Society:—That slaveholding and slave-trading are heinous sins in the sight of God, and violations of the rights of man, and ought to be immediately abandoned —that so long as Slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings—that the extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade is to be attained by moral, religious and pacific means; that while the Society exacts no specific pledges as a condition of membership, it will urge on all the duty of exercising the political franchise against the election of any slaveholder, and in behalf of the enslaved; that the legislative action of governments should be invoked to abolish Slavery and the slave-trade, for the enfranchisement of free people of color, and to restrain the lawless from invading the rights of others; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

ARTICLE IV.

The Society will employ the following means, among others, to effect the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade:—

1. They will circulate accurate information on the enormities of Slavery and the slave-trade—furnish evidence to the inhabitants of the

slaveholding States, not only of the practicability and safety, but of the pecuniary advantage of free over slave labor—diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere—open a correspondence with abolitionists throughout the world, and encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. They will recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown.

3. They will urge upon all, and especially upon the ministry and church of Christ, the duty of embracing every suitable opportunity for exhibiting to slaveholders and slavetraders, and their apologists, an abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

ARTICLE V.

Any person who consents to the principles and objects of this Society, and contributes annually to its funds, shall be a member of the Society; and the payment of thirty dollars, at any one time, shall constitute an individual a member for life.

ARTICLE VI.

The Society shall annually elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, and a Treasurer; and in case of a vacancy occurring from any cause, the Executive Committee shall have the power to fill such vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.

The Society shall annually elect an Executive Committee, of whom nine members at least shall reside in the city of New York, and vicinity; and five, regularly convened, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

This Committee shall have power to elect their own officers—to fill all vacancies which may occur in their number—to call an annual meeting of the Society at New York, or elsewhere, at which a report of their doings shall be made—to transact all the business of the Society in the intervals of the annual meetings—to convene special meetings of the Society, when necessary—and to collect funds through their auxiliaries, or otherwise, according to their discretion.

ARTICLE VIII.

The meetings of this Society, for the transaction of business, shall consist of its officers, and such other men as may be sent as delegates. Each State or Territory Society, auxiliary to this, shall be entitled to send two delegates, and every local Association (consisting of not less than fifty members), whether auxiliary to the State or Territory Societies, or to this Society, shall be entitled to one delegate for every fifty members.

ARTICLE IX.

This Society shall invite and encourage the formation of Women's Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, in furtherance of its objects, which Societies may be represented according to Article VII.

ARTICLE X.

This Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of this Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the delegates present, provided the amendments proposed have been submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee, three months previously.